



A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE

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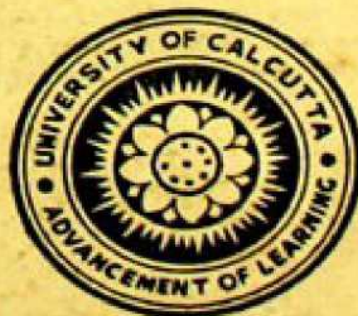
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ORNATE POETRY

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SECTION V.

ORNATE POETRY.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ORNATE POETRY.

When we use the expression "Ornate Poetry" we are rendering the Indian word "Kāvya," which really means "poetry" in general, and "poetry perfect in form" in particular. This poetry, whose chief characteristic is that it lays greater stress on the form than on the contents, was cultivated more especially, though not exclusively,¹⁾ at the courts of Indian princes, and is for this reason often called "Ornate court poetry."

The ancient heroic poetry, too, with which we have become acquainted in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and which at a later period grew so popular, belonged originally to "court poetry." The bards (Sūtas), who were the representatives of this old heroic poetry, also lived at the courts of the princes and sang to extol them. But they also went forth to battle, so as to be able to sing of the heroic deeds of the warriors from their own observation. These court bards stood much closer to the warriors than to the learned Brahmins. They often acted as charioteers to the warriors in their campaigns, and took part in their martial life. And the time at which these heroic songs originated was still a rough one, a time of warfare and uncouth customs, when the chase, games of dice and prize-fights were yet among the favourite pastimes of the princes. It was only on

¹⁾ Not only princes, but high officials too, and rich people in general, came forward as patrons of poets, and there were literary "salons" not only at the courts, but in Brahmin settlements and in the large cities also. Cf. F. W. Thomas in JRAS, 1910, 972 f.

solemn occasions, at great festive assemblies, celebrations of victories and sacrificial feasts that the bards sang their songs.¹⁾ It was not until court life grew more refined that these bards were more and more superseded by erudite poets, who had grown up in the schools of the Brahmans, and who vied with the Brahmans in learning. These poets now described fights and battles only from hearsay or according to a stereotyped model. Greater stress was laid on form and erudition²⁾ than on inventive genius and poetic talent. The masters of panegyrics, who knew how to sing the praise of their lord in the most elaborate verses, were also the masters of poetic art. Panegyrics were probably the first theme of this type of poetry, which was cultivated above all else at the courts. This explains, also, the origin of the Kāvya style, i.e., the style of the Ornate court poetry. The more strenuous the efforts of the poet the more "ornate" his expressions, and the more difficult his work of art the more did the prince feel flattered by it.

The first traces of this true "Ornate court poetry" are to be found in the Rāmāyaṇa. The Indians themselves call Vālmīki the "first Ornate poet" and the Rāmāyaṇa "the first Ornate poem," and some passages of this epic do indeed already show clearly the genuine characteristic Kāvya style.³⁾ The Ornate court epic of the classical period of Sanskrit poetry shows this style at its very best, but it has penetrated also into lyric poetry, gnomic poetry, drama and narrative literature, and has not even left the religious poetry of the Buddhists and the Jains untouched.

1) See above I, 315 and Hertel, *Tantrākhyāyika* I, p. 10 ff. The Indians call even the Mahābhārata a "Kāvya," see above I, 321.

2) Even a Kālidāsa did not scorn to show his erudition in grammar in occasional comparisons; see *Raghuvamśa* 12, 58 and 15, 9. Cf. Kābitis Chandra Chatterji in *COJ.* 1. 1934, 241 ff.

3) See above I, 475 f. It is true that it is not always out of the question that these are later additions to the ancient poem. Cf. above I, 489 n., 490 n., 497, 506. Passages which show the Kāvya style are rarer in the Mahābhārata (above I, 364, 376, 461) and Harivamśa (above I, 452 n.).

First and foremost among the main peculiarities of this Kāvya style is the accumulation of metaphors and similes. The simile has played an important part in Indian literature at all times, from the Veda downwards. Yāska and Pāṇini had already dealt with the simile from the point of view of grammar,¹⁾ and in the sacred books of the Jains and the Buddhists the simile is a favourite medium of instruction. In the ornate poetry, however, the poet makes it his highest ambition to astonish his readers or hearers by as numerous, as original and as elaborate similes as possible. To the province of ornate poetry also belong: long drawn out descriptions, especially certain stereotyped ones (*e.g.* of the seasons, the sunrise, the moonlit night, etc.)—such descriptions frequently occupy so much space that the real subject-matter of the poem is relegated to the background, and the contents of many cantos of an epic or many books of a novel could be given conveniently in two pages—, then the use of artificial inner rhymes and elaborately constructed metres, the use of rare words and long compounds, especially those with more than one meaning, witty puns, and generally the utmost endeavour to avoid saying anything in a straightforward manner and to veil and circumscribe everything as much as possible and to suggest things in the form of riddles.²⁾ The culmination of poetry is attained if the poet can succeed in saying two or even several things in one and the same word or series of words, in one and the same sentence or verse.

This poetry is not, however, merely artificial, but learned as well. The true ornate poet must be well versed in the most varied branches of knowledge. He must study the dictionaries, so as to unearth the rarest possible words and such as have various meanings, so that he can compose lengthy compounds which can be split up in various ways and associated with various

1) *De*, Poetics, I, 4 ff.

2) "It is a thing of course in the refined society of cultured people, never to express in direct words what is nearest one's heart, but to convey it by means of suggestions," says Anandavardhana (*Dhvanyāloka* IV, 5).

meanings. He must have learnt grammar, so as not to commit any offence against its rules. He must know the manuals of military art and politics, so as to bring in descriptions of battles and political intrigues in his poem in suitable places. He must also be thoroughly well acquainted with the manuals of erotics (kāmaśāstra), so as to be able to depict love-scenes and render the moods of lovers in the approved fashion. But, above all, he must have mastered the text-books of metrics and poetics so as to adorn his poetry with as elaborate and intricate metres as possible and a goodly selection of poetic figures of all kinds (alaṃkāras "ornaments"). For, as we read in an old manual of poetics, "the countenance of a beautiful woman, be it ever so charming, is not resplendent without adornment."¹⁾ It is characteristic that what we call poetics is designated by the Indians as the "science of the ornaments" (alaṃkāraśāstra).²⁾

It must not be thought that this style of the ornate court poetry was a mere fashion in India, as was the case in other literatures,—a fashion limited to a passing phase;³⁾ it is the characteristic style of classical poetry, and has actually always remained the style of high-class poetry. The development of this style can be explained in part by the peculiarities of the Sanskrit language, in which, from the very beginning, nouns preponderate greatly over verbs. For this reason we find even at an early period a predilection for strings of descriptive adjectives and the formation of all kinds of compounds, often exceedingly long. Strange as these compounds often seem to us, there

¹⁾ Bhāmaha I, 13.

²⁾ See the chapter on Poetics, Dramaturgy and Metrics in Section VI : Scientific and Technical Literature.

³⁾ Thus, for instance, the euphuistic style at the time of Queen Elizabeth of England, which bears a certain resemblance to the Kāvya style, was a fashion which was introduced from Spain, and which lasted only about 50 years. Keith, HSL 347 ff. compares the Greek literature of the Alexandrian and the Latin literature of the post-Augustan period. Similarities between the Kāvya style and the style of the old Nordic poetry of the old Norwegian and the old Icelandic skalds, especially from the 9th to the 11th centuries, have been indicated by Wolfgang Krause (KZ 53, 1925, 213 ff.).

is no denying that they impart to the style an exceptionally forceful artistic effect,¹⁾ and make it possible to give such graphic descriptions as are scarcely possible in other languages. Indeed, we can appreciate the beauties of the Kāvya style only if we are able to lose ourselves completely in the spirit of the language and in the taste of the cultured Indian.

BEGINNINGS OF ORNATE POETRY.

The earliest beginnings of Indian Ornate Poetry, as we have already remarked, are to be found in the Mahābhārata, and especially in the Rāmāyaṇa. Although a great deal of it has to be attributed to the additions made by later poets, it will be idle to deny that even in the ancient portions of these epics, dating from pre-Christian times, the traces of an ornate style can be already detected. (And yet, so far as the poetic artifices are concerned, there is such a vast difference between epics like the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa and, say, the poems of Kālidāsa and Amaru, that a long period must be assumed to have passed between these two kinds of poetry. In all probability, however, Ornate Court Poetry did not arise in the field of the epic at all, but in that of lyric poetry. The very history of metrics shows that the first ornate metres were developed probably in love-lyric.²⁾ In this province of poetry, in which the object of the song afforded so little variety, the poet must have been anxious to win the attention and the admiration of his audience and readers by the ingenuity of the metres and the language. Panegyrics however, afforded just as much incentive to ingenuity of form as erotics. When poets glorified in song the heroic deeds of the princes at whose courts they lived, the more elaborate these poems, the better were they appreciated by the princes as a mark of esteem. Hence it is only natural that the court poets vied

1) Cf. Krause, l. c., 234 f.

2) Cf. Jacobi, in ZDMG 38, 615 ff.

with one another in elaborateness, and finally the one who managed to use the greatest number of "ornaments" in his poems was acclaimed as the great poet. Probably it was from panegyrics that this Kāvya style first found its way into the epic.

Ornate Court Poetry would date back to the 4th or 5th century B.C. if the grammarian Pāṇini were the author not only of an epic Pātālaviṇaya or Jāmbavatīviṇaya which is attributed to a poet Pāṇini (it has not however come down to us), but also of the verses attributed to this poet in the anthologies. Rājasekhara says in a verse which has come down to us in an anthology :¹⁾ "Hail to Pāṇini, who by the grace of Rudra first composed the grammar and then the poem Jāmbavatīviṇaya ! " A testimony of so late a period cannot suffice to identify the grammarian who wrote his famous Grammar at the close of the Vedic era with a poet whose language, as far as we can see from the quotations, reminds us only of poets of the period from the 6th to the 9th century A.D. A still greater obstacle is that the verses of the poet Pāṇini, which have come down to us, contain ungrammatical forms, of which we could not possibly accuse the great grammarian, and moreover neither the followers and commentators of the grammarian, nor the earlier authors of manuals of poetics, mention anything about a poet Pāṇini.²⁾

¹⁾ In Subhāṣitamuktāvali, written by Jalhapa in 1247 A.D. Hence this Rājasekhara, to whom numerous verses about poets are attributed in the anthologies, must have lived before the 13th century. They are probably from one of the works of the dramatist Rājasekhara who also wrote manuals of poetics in about 900 A.D., which however have not come down to us.

²⁾ That the poet Pāṇini is not identical with the grammarian, and that Jāmbavatīviṇaya and Pātālaviṇaya are one and the same work, has been conclusively proved by Kṣhītischandra Chatterji in COJ I, 1933, 1 ff. The identity of the poet with the grammarian has been upheld by : R. Pischel in ZDMG 39, 1885, 95 ff. ; P. Peterson in JBRAS 17, 1889, 57 ff. ; Subh. 54 ff. ; JRAS 1891, 311 ff. ; Kane in Ind. Ant. 41, 1912, 125 ; H. R. Diccakar, Les fleurs de rhétorique dans l'Inde, Paris 1930, p. 32 f. ; Susil Kumar De, Treatment of Love in Sanskrit Literature, Calcutta 1929, p. 13. Thomas, Kav. 51 ff., considers the question as undecided. The following have expressed themselves against the identity of the poet with

Testimony regarding the existence of a worldly lyric poetry in ornate metres and in the style of the ornate court poetry in the 2nd century B. C. is furnished by the second great grammarian Patañjali, in whose *Mahābhāṣya* a few quotations from ornate poems are to be found.¹⁾ In anthologies Patañjali himself is cited here and there as the author of a few isolated verses.²⁾ In the *Mahābhāṣya* mention is also made of a poem by Vararuci,³⁾ which however has not come down to us. Verses by Vararuci do, however, occur in anthologies. Piṅgala, the author of the earliest manual on metrics which has come down to us, is supposed by tradition to have been very close to Patañjali in chronology, and his metrics presuppose the existence of love lyrics belonging to ornate poetry.

We possess inscriptions of the second and the first century B.C. in a dialect closely related to Pāli, especially the Hāthi-gumphā inscription of king Khāravēla,⁴⁾ which are written in

the grammarian : F. Kielhorn in NGGW 1885, 185 ff. ; R. G. Bhandarkar in JBRAS 16, 344 ; D. R. Bhandarkar in Ind. Ant. 41, 1912, 125 n. and A. B. Keith, HSL 203 f. Rāyamukuta in his commentary, written in 1431, on the *Amarakoṣa*, cites a passage from the *Jāmbavatī-vijaya*. The poet Pāṇini is also quoted by Ruyyaka. In the *Saṅkṛtikarṇāmṛta* (1205 A.D.) a verse of an unknown poet is quoted in which the poets Subandhu, Kālidāsa, Dākṣiṇputra ("son of Dākṣi", the grammarian Pāṇini was called thus already by Patañjali), Haricandra, Śūra, Bhāravi and Bhavabhūti (this one as the greatest of all) are praised.

1) Cf. G. Bühler, *Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie*, p. 72 ; F. Kielhorn in Ind. Ant. 14, 326 f. and Prabhat Chandra Chakrabarti in IHQ 2, 1926, 464 ff.

2) Cf. Peterson in JRAS 1891, 311 ff.

3) *Vārarucam kāvyam*, *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāp. 4, 3, 101, Vārtt. 3 (ed. Kielhorn, II, p. 315). The poet Jalūka (*Jālūkāḥ ślokāḥ*) mentioned here is unknown.

4) See above II, 431 n., 597. This inscription, which has come down in a very bad state of preservation, has often been dealt with. Thus by Lüders, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Denkmäler* Berlin 1911, p. 62 and Ep. Ind. N. Apo., p. 160 f. ; J. Charpentier in WZKM 29, 1915, 208 ff. ; R. C. Majumdar and K. G. Sankara Aiyer in Ind. Ant. 47, 1918, 213 f. ; 48, 1919, 187 ff. ; 49, 1920, 43 ff. ; F. W. Thomas in Ind. Ant. 48, 1919, 214 ff. ; Steo Konow in Acta Or. 1, 1923 p. 12 ff. ; Smith, *Early History*, p. 219 ; B. M. Barua in IHQ 4, 1928, 511 ff. ; Ramaprasada Chanda in IHQ 5, 1929, 587 ff. and lastly by K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji in Ep. Ind. 20, 1929-30, p. 71 ff., where the first half of the 2nd century B.C. is fixed as the date of the inscription. On the style of the old Brāhmī-inscriptions see Barua, l. c., 525 ff.

a rhythmic prose with alliterations, long compounds and other peculiarities reminiscent of the Kāvya style.

No specimens of ornate court poetry in Sanskrit have come down to us from the period from the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D. It appears that, at the courts of Indian princes of this period preference was given to Prākṛit poetry, which produced the songs in Hāla's *Sattasaī*, and the fairy-tale novel *Bṛhatkathā* by Guṇāḍhya, which unfortunately has not come down to us in its original form. The Jains and the Buddhists, too, gave preference to Prākṛit and Pāli. In the Jain Aṅgas, in didactic passages, in the life-history of Mahāvīra, and in the Buddhist Pāli-Canon, especially in the Therīgāthās, we come across verses which show the style of ornate poetry.¹⁾ An inscription from Nāsik of the nineteenth year of the reign of King Pulumāyi of the Andhra dynasty (154 A.D.),²⁾ which illustrates all the peculiarities of the style of ornate prose, is also composed in Prākṛit.

1) See above, Vol. II, pp. 460, 463, 107, 111 note. Cf. Madhusudan Roy, *Examples of Alamkāras from the Thera- Therī-Gāthās*, IC, I, 1935, 496 ff. For a long time it was thought that the development of Sanskrit literature had come to a regular standstill in the first centuries A.D., and that it was not until the 6th century A.D. that a "renaissance of Sanskrit literature" had taken place (see Max Müller, *India—what can it teach us*, London, 1882). This theory has been completely refuted, especially by G. Bühler, *Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie* (SWA 1890). Cf. also Haraprasad Sāstri in JASB 6, 1910, 305 ff. R. G. Bhandarkar (*A Peep into the Early History of India*, JBRAS, 1900, p. 407 f., Reprint, Bombay 1920, p. 72 ff.) also does not believe that there was a complete interruption in Sanskrit literature, but thinks that its development was slow during the centuries of Buddhism dominated by Prākṛit literature, from the 1st century B.C. down to the 4th century A.D. It does not seem to me that there is any justification for assuming a "Prākṛit period" of Indian literature which is supposed to have preceded the classical period as is done by F. Lacôte (*Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, Paris, 1908; similarly Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*, p. xi ff.). Prākṛit poetry was the poetry of certain classes, probably of some courts, and most certainly of various sects, but, so far as we know, during the time for which we possess an Indian literature at all, there was no period at which poetry was written only in Prākṛit and not in Sanskrit too.

2) Cf. Bühler, *Die indischen Inschriften* etc., p. 56 ff.; Smith, *Early History*, pp. 220, 231 f.; S. Lévi, *La suite des idées dans les textes Sanscrits à propos d'une des inscriptions de Nasik* (Cinquantenaire de l'école pratique des hautes études, Paris 1921); H. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta 1923, 261 ff.

A great Sanskrit inscription of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman, which is really a complete ornate poem in prose, dates from the same period.¹⁾ Long compounds and long sentences, such as are prescribed by Daṇḍin for prose poems of this nature, as well as various figures of speech (alaṃkāra), are found in this inscription. The style is that defined by Daṇḍin as the "Vidarbha style." The fact that in the 2nd century A.D. the style of ornate poetry was already transferred to prose and used in inscriptions, is surely evidence of this style having had a considerable previous development.

From the 2nd century A.D. we have already also the epics and dramas of the Buddhist poet Aśvaghoṣa,²⁾ which in language and style belong to ornate court poetry. The consummate form of the epics and the perfect technique of the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa prove that he could only have composed them after long-existing models. For, in the nature of the case, it is improbable that of all persons a Buddhist poet should have been the first to write poetry in this style. It is far more likely that he chose the style of ornate poetry for Buddhistic themes because this style was the one in vogue for the worldly poetry of his day. Aśvaghoṣa was not, however, the only Buddhist ornate poet. Not far removed from him, very probably, was the poet (or poets) who relates in the style of ornate poetry some of the legends of the Divyāvadāna, which was probably originated in the Canon of the Sarvāstivāda school. To the same school of poets as Aśvaghoṣa belong also the Buddhist poets Mātṛeeta, probably a contempo-

¹⁾ The inscription has been republished by Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, 8. 36 ff., and is dated by him in 151 or 152 A.D. Bühler, l. c., p. 49, placed it between 160 and 170 A.D. The inscription is to be found on a rock in the neighbourhood of Girnār. Rudradāman belongs to the so-called "Western Kṣatrapas." Kṣatrapa is a Sanskrit adaptation of the Persian Khshathrapa (Greek "satrap"), as the governors or dependent princes of the Indo-Scythian kings were called, who held sway over the whole of North-Western and Western India in the first two centuries of the Christian era. See also Raychaudhuri, l. c., 65 ff.; Smith, *Early History*, pp. 222, 231.

²⁾ See above, Vol. II, p. 256 ff.

rary of Aśvaghoṣa, Kumāralāta and Āryaśūra of the 4th century A.D.¹⁾

In order to know the early history of ornate poetry it is necessary for us to determine exactly the antiquity of the Alampkāraśāstras (manuals of poetics) and their relation to the Kāvya. Unfortunately, however, this is not easy to do, for the manuals of poetics which have come down to us all date from a period at which ornate poetry had already attained its full maturity. Even the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra, the earliest manual of histrionics and dramaturgy, which contains the oldest rules of poetics, has not come down to us in its original form. We can only assume that the earlier manuals, which contained a theory of the poetic figures (alampkāras) have been lost. At all events, however, we are bound to assume that poetics arose from the study of certain model poems,—the Mahābhārata and especially the Rāmāyaṇa. Surely Vālmīki did not as yet know any manual of poetics; Aśvaghoṣa, on the other hand, was perhaps already acquainted with the theory of the Alampkāras.²⁾ The subsequent development of ornate poetry was already influenced by the doctrines of the Alampkāraśāstra. Bhāsa and Kālidāsa knew a Nāṭyaśāstra by Bharata.³⁾

It is generally taken for granted that the less artificial a work of ornate poetic art, and the less it is influenced by theory, the earlier must it be. But this conclusion is justified only to a limited extent. It would be more correct to say, if a poet writes in a simple style, the reason is either that he belongs to an earlier period, or that he has a better taste. Even in later times there were always poets who had sufficient good taste to avoid the

¹⁾ See above, Vol. II, pp. 267 ff., 269 f., 273 ff., 276, 285f., 289, 623 f. The language of Āryaśūra is especially praised in a verse of the anthology Saduktikarpāmṛta; see *Aufrecht* in ZDMG 36, 1882, 365; *Peterson*, Subh. 131. In later periods Buddhistic and Jinistic poets often utilised the Kāvya style, see above, Vol. II, p. 659 (Index under "Ornate Poetry").

²⁾ Cf. *Kane*, in *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 127.

³⁾ On Kālidāsa's relationship to the Alampkāra-Śāstra see *A. Hillebrandt*, *Kalidasa*, p. 107 ff.

exaggerated artificialities.¹⁾ Daṇḍin tells us expressly in his *Kāvyaadarśa* that there were also great local differences in regard to style. It appears that in Eastern India the poetic art was cultivated at the courts of powerful kings earlier than in the South-West. It was not until the 4th and the 5th centuries A.D., when the Guptas attained supremacy, that the West also entered into competition with ornate poets.²⁾

It is only natural that the development of the ornate court poetry should depend largely on which courts especially cultivated poetry ; and this is not always a question of the period, but often one of locality and circumstances also.

It is not likely that court poets and an ornate court poetry existed as early as under the rulers of the Maurya dynasty. It is doubtful to what extent *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* reflects conditions at the court of the Maurya king Candragupta. The tradition which attributes the work to the legendary minister of Candragupta, accords but little with the facts of history. Nevertheless, the work goes back to a fairly early time, and it is possible that its earliest elements do date back to the Maurya period. And in any case, it is noteworthy that though Paurāṇikas, Sūtas, Māgadhas and Kuśīlavas,—that is, chroniclers, bards, singers and actors, are mentioned, there is no mention of a court poet. The teachers and scholars (ācāryā vidyāvantaś ca), who according to their degree of dignity receive a remuneration of 500 to 1,000 Paṇas,³⁾ were probably only prominent Brahmans whom the king wanted to honour, and not poets, who would have been called "Kavi." Neither is there anywhere any

1) Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar in JBRAS 16, 266. In spite of all their appreciation of the finer ornate poetry, the Indians themselves have nevertheless always regarded the simple epics *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* as masterpieces and models.

2) Cf. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*, p. xvi f.

3) *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya ed. by R. Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1909, p. 245 f. Revised ed. 1924, p. 247 f. That there was already a poet Subandhu at the court of Bindusāra, son of the Maurya king Candragupta, needs still more convincing arguments than those given by A. Rangaswami Saraswati in Ind. Ant. 53, 1924, 8 ff., 177 ff. and IHQ I, 1925, 261 ff.

mention of a Kāvya among the literary works enumerated in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. Another fact, which accords with this, is that the inscriptions of King Aśoka are written in a plain, simple style, and bear no traces of the style of ornate poetry. Yet, precisely in these inscriptions the subject-matter would often have lent itself to poetical form.

The dramas of Bhāsa, whom Kālidāsa himself extols as his predecessor, may have been written in the 4th century A. D. Probably the Pañcatantra too in its earliest form, closely resembling the Kashmiri Tantrākhyāyika, dates back to the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century.

At all events, we are to a certain extent justified in describing the poetical works of Aśvaghoṣa and his contemporaries, Hāla's Sattasāi (in its earliest component parts), Guṇāḍhya's Brhatkathā, the dramas of Bhāsa (as far as they are extant) and the Pañcatantra in its earliest form, as belonging to a pre-classical or early classical period of Indian ornate poetry. We cannot, however, determine the exact date of any of the works of this period, and we can only conjecture that this pre-classical or early classical poetry flourished at the courts of the later Andhra princes, the Western Kṣatrapas,¹⁾ the Kuṣāṇa princes, the Vākātakas,²⁾ and the first Gupta rulers.

All we can say by way of summing up is, therefore, that inscriptions as well as literary evidences permit of our actually tracing ornate court poetry back to the 2nd century after Christ, and we may infer its existence in the 2nd century before Christ, and set the beginning of its golden age in the 4th century A. D.

¹⁾ See above, p. 9, note 1, and *Bhagvanlāl Indraji* in *JRAS* 1890, 639ff.; *Lévi*, in *JA* s. 9, t. XIX, 1902, 95 ff.

²⁾ Cf. *S. K. Aiyangar* in *Ann. Bh. Inst.* 5, 1923-24, p. 31ff. and *K. P. Jayaswal*, *History of India, c. 150 A. D. to 350 A. D.*, Lahore 1933, *JBORS* 19, 1933, Parts I-II and *Modern Review*, November, 1932.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF ORNATE POETRY.

It was not until the rule of the Gupta dynasty that ornate court poetry attained its full maturity and its golden age. This dynasty was founded at the end of the 3rd century A. D. by a Mahārāja Gupta, who was succeeded by his son Ghaṭotkaca between 300 and 320 A.D. approximately. These two were merely local princes. But Ghaṭotkaca's son and successor Candragupta I was the founder of a large kingdom in North India and assumed the title of a sovereign ruler (Mahārājādhirāja). He was succeeded in about 335 A.D. by his son Samudragupta, who distinguished himself by his martial deeds, which have been sung by one of his court poets named Hariṣeṇa in a poem of praise (praśasti), engraved on a stone column in Allahabad. The inscription, which probably dates from the year 345 A. D., consists of nine verses and a conclusion in elevated prose, and the poem of praise expressly calls itself a Kāvya. The kingdom ruled over by Samudragupta comprised the richest and the most fertile territories of Northern India,—a kingdom of a magnitude which had not been seen since the days of Aśoka. The court poet does not extol only the martial achievements of the king, but he also praises his poetical and musical talents. As a matter of fact, golden coins have come down to us, representing the king playing on the lute. Hariṣeṇa also boasts that Samudragupta's title "poet prince" is well merited "by the composition of many poems worthy of being imitated by scholars." Finally it is also claimed that he took delight in the company of authors and scholars, and took part in the study of the sacred texts.¹⁾

1) Cf. Bühler, *Die indischen Inschriften etc.*, p. 31 ff.; Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III), Calcutta 1888, p. 1 ff.; Smith, *Early History*, 295 ff., 305 ff. and JRAS 1897, 19 ff.; A. Gawron'ski in *Festschrift Windisch*, p. 170 ff.; H. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 271 ff.; Radhakumud Mookenji, *Men and Thought in Ancient India*, London 1924, p. 143 ff.; S. Krishna-

When this king, whose connections extended from the Oxus to Ceylon, died about 380 A. D., he was succeeded on the throne by his son Candragupta II, who assumed the title Vikramāditya, i.e. "Sun of Bravery." The name Vikramāditya is the most famous one in Indian legend and literary tradition. Yet however, as many Indian rulers have assumed this title, it is difficult to decide which king is meant by the Vikramāditya of the legends. There are, however, good reasons in favour of Candragupta II's being identical with the legendary King "Vikrama," as he is also briefly called.¹⁾ Candragupta II, like his father, made great conquests, and like him, had an aptitude for literature. On a coin he has the epithet *rūpakṛtīn* "composer of dramas."²⁾ He reigned for nearly forty years. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien, who travelled in India between 405 and 411 A.D., records that there was great prosperity in his kingdom, and that there was even provision for hospitals and other institutions for public welfare.

When Candragupta II died in 413 A. D., he was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta I, who reigned for over forty years. Numerous inscriptions and coins of his reign prove that his

swami Aiyangar in JIH, Vol. VI, University Supplement; R. D. Banerji, The Age of the Imperial Guptas, Benares 1933; Radhagovinda Basak, The History of North-Eastern India, extending from the Foundation of the Gupta Empire to the Rise of the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal (c. 320-760 A. D.), London 1934, 5 ff., 19 ff. On the great impetus to literature, art and learning under the Guptas, s. Smith, Early History, p. 319 ff.

1) Cf. Smith, Early History, p. 306 ff.; E. J. Rapson, Cambridge History I, p. 533; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Vikramāditya, in Asutosh Mem. Vol., pp. 143-163; Dinesh Bhattacharyya in IHQ 5, 1929, 162 f.; Basak, l. c., 34 ff.; D. R. Bhandarkar in Ep. Ind., 21, p. 1 ff.; R. G. Bhandarkar (Peep into the Early History of India, JBRAS 20, 1900, 439; Reprint, Bombay 1920, p. 59 ff.) already called attention to the fact that the appellation of Vikramāditya as "enemy of the Śakas" (Śakāri) fits Candragupta II well: for he conquered Mālwā before 400 A. D. and drove the Kṣatrapas out of Mālwā and the Kuṣāṇas out of Mathurā. His capital was Ujjayinī, the city of the Vikramāditya of the legend.

2) Cf. Hoernle in JASB, Proceed. August 1891; Barth in Rev. Crit. 1892, p. 190 n. If Candragupta II is the Vikramāditya of the legend, then the verses which appear in the anthologies under the name Vikramāditya may also be by him (s. Peterson, Subh. 117 f.; Thomas, Kav. 105 f.). This is not, however, by any means certain.

empire was not smaller than that of his predecessors. He, too, had poetic leanings, received the title "poet prince," and was a patron of poets, who, as we read in one of his inscriptions, "put an end to the enmity between good poetical art and wealth." It was not until towards the close of his reign that the invasions of the Huns began, who, sweeping down from the steppes of Central Asia by the North-Western passes, inundated the whole of Northern India. He was succeeded in 455 A. D. by his son *Skandagupta*, who had, in his turn, assumed the title *Vikramāditya*. Soon after his accession to the throne he was successful in defeating the Huns in a decisive battle. This victory is glorified in an inscription on a column (in *Bhitari* in *Ghāzipur* district, east of Benares) which has survived to this day. *Skandagupta* reigned till 467 A. D. Inscriptions tell us that the last years of his reign were years of peace and prosperity.¹⁾ During the reigns of his successors *Kumāragupta II* (about 467-476 A. D.), *Budhagupta* (about 476-500 A. D.) and *Bhānugupta* (about 500-543 A. D.) the great Gupta empire declined gradually towards its final downfall. Renewed invasions of the Huns made the country restless and weakened the power of the Guptas. In about 490 A. D. the Hun chieftain *Toramāṇa* conquered *Mālwa* and *Surāṣṭra*. He was succeeded in about 510 A. D. by his son *Mihiragula*, who held sway over large portions of India and was a great menace to the Gupta empire. In Brahmanical traditions *Mihiragula* is described as a terribly cruel and tyrannical barbarian.²⁾ As late as in 533 A. D. *Yaśodharman*, a prince of Central India, succeeded in defeating *Mihiragula* in *Mālwa*, whilst (about the same time or very soon afterwards) *Narasimhagupta Bālāditya*, king of *Magadha*, who came of a branch of the Gupta dynasty, liberated the *Magadha* kingdom from his rule. The Chinese pilgrim *Hsüan-Tsang* gives the whole credit for the decisive victory over *Mihiragula*

1) *Basak*, l. c., p. 70.

2) See above. Vol. I, p. 525.

to Bālāditya, who was a pious Buddhist and a patron of the Nālandā University. On the other hand, Yaśodharman, in the inscriptions which have come down to us on two columns of victory, boasts that *he* conquered the kingdom which neither the Guptas nor the Huns were able to retain. Probably after the defeat of the Huns he also annexed the territories of the Guptas. But the rule of Yaśodharman seems to have been only of short duration, for we hear nothing of successors of this ruler, whereas the Guptas did continue to reign until towards the middle of the 8th century A.D., even though only as insignificant local princes of Magadha.¹⁾

It was necessary to insert this brief history of the Gupta dynasty, because the Golden Age of ornate court poetry undoubtedly coincides with the period of the Gupta rule. The inscriptions of the Gupta kings, which extend over the period from about 350 to 550 A. D. and contain poems of praise (Praśastis) about various kings of this dynasty, are themselves in part perfect poems in the Kāvya style. Even in those days there was rivalry, as is proved by these inscriptions, not only among the ornate poets themselves, but also between the princes and their court poets. Above all, Kālidāsa belongs to this period,—the most famous poet of the classical Sanskrit literature.

It is characteristic of the uncertainty prevailing in the history of Indian literature that the Indians know nothing beyond fairy-tales about the life of their most famous poet, and that opinions of Indian as well as Western scholars as to the period of Kālidāsa diverge to the extent of several centuries even now, though a vast amount has been written on the subject.²⁾

1) See *Smith*, *Early History*, 334 ff., 338 ff.; *Basak*, l. c., 72 ff., 96 ff.; *H. Heras* in *IHQ* 3, 1927, 1 ff.

2) The various opinions as to the time of Kālidāsa, down to the year 1912, have been comprehensively discussed by *G. Huth*, *Die Zeit des Kālidāsa*, Diss., Berlin, 1890, and by *B. Liebhich* in *Indogerm. Forschungen* 31, 1912-13, p. 198 ff. *S. Ray*, *Proc. I OC*, Poona, I, p. lviii f. and *K. S. Ramaswami Sastri*, *Kālidāsa : His Period, Personality and Poetry*,

One legend has it that Kālidāsa, though born as the son of a Brahman, early became orphan and was brought up by a cowherd. As an uncouth cowherd he was married to a princess, who was ashamed of him until, by reason of his earnest adoration of the goddess Kālī, he became a great sage and scholar. Hence his name Kāli-dāsa "slave of Kālī."¹⁾ Other legends, especially prevalent in Ceylon, make Kālidāsa a contemporary of the Singhalese king and poet Kumāradāsa, who lived in the 6th century A.D.²⁾ In many anecdotes which are told about Kālidāsa in later works like the Bhojaprabandha and even at the present day by the Pandits orally, the name "Kālidāsa" simply serves the narrators, as Hoernle says, "as a peg on which to hang their stories."³⁾ None of these legends has the slightest historical value.

Vol. I, published by Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam (known to me only through the review of V. R. R. Dikshitar in Ann. Bh. Inst. 15, 1933-34, p. 127 f.) make Kālidāsa a contemporary of King Agnimitra in the 2nd century B. C. C. V. Vaidya in Ann. Bh. Inst. 2, 1920-21, p. 63 ff., K. G. Sankar in IHQ 1, 1925, p. 309 ff., Kshetrasachandra Chattoṇopādhyāya in Allahabad University Studies. Vol. II, 1926, pp. 78-170, and K. M. Shembavnekar, A Puzzle in Indian Epigraphy, in JIH. Vol. X, Part II, and The Date of Kālidāsa, in the Journal of the University of Bombay, I, 6, 1933, argue in favour of the 1st century B. C. The majority of scholars place the poet in the reign of Candragupta II in the 5th century A. D.; thus R. G. Bhandarkar, Peep into the Early History of India, JBRAS 1900, 440 f., Reprint Bombay 1920, p. 61 f., S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in Asutosh Mem. Vol., p. 156 f., Pischel in KG 201 f., Rapson in ERE IV, p. 835, Alfred Hillebrandt, Kalidasa, Breslau 1921, p. 13 ff., Keith, Drama, p. 143 ff. and HSL, p. 79 ff., F. G. Peterson in JRAS 1926, p. 725 f.

1) The story is told in various versions; s. Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus übersetzt von A. Schiefner, p. 76 ff.; R. Vasudeva Tullu in Ind. Ant. 7, 1878, 115 ff.; M. T. Narasimhiengar in Ind. Ant. 39, 1910, 236; Louis Finot in IHQ 9, 1933, 829 ff.; Sten Konow in IHQ 10, 1934, 566 ff. The anecdote is also told by Hemavijaya in the Kathāratnākara, German translation by Joh. Hertel, No. 72, I, p. 208 ff.

2) See T. W. Rhys Davids and C. Bendall in JRAS 1888, 148 f. and 440; W. Geiger, Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen (Grundriss I, 10), p. 3 ff.; Huth, l. c., p. 51 ff.; H. M. Vidyābhūṣan in JASB 62, 1893, 212 ff.; J. E. Seneciratne, The Life of Kalidas, Colombo, 1901. The life of Kālidāsa has also been dramatised in Ceylon.

3) See Grierson and Hoernle in JRAS 1906, 692 f., 699 f. For anecdotes about Kālidāsa in Ballāla's Bhojaprabandha see Th. Pavie in JA, s. 5, t. IV, 1854, 385-431; S. M. Natesa Sastri, in Ind. Ant. 18, 40 ff. Stories such as are still told to-day by the pandits of Ujjain were communicated by Jackson in JAOS 22, 1901, 331 f. See also A. Hillebrandt, Kalidasa, p. 7 ff.

All that we can gather from Kālidāsa's own works about the poet's personality is that he was a Brahman and a believer in, but not by any means an exclusive devotee of, the god Śiva. He also extols Viṣṇu as the embodiment of the Supreme Being, and glorifies the god Brahman as the Creator of the universe. Kālidāsa loves to describe the pious Brahmanical rites and ceremonies, speaks with awe of the Brahmanical social order, of priests, hermits, ascetics and Yogins. He loves detailed descriptions of Yoga exercises, and believes firmly in the mystic power of Yoga. He is not an adherent of any particular system of philosophy, but he is familiar with the fundamental doctrines of the Vedānta, Sāṃkhya and Yoga.¹⁾ In addition, he is well versed in all sciences, astronomy²⁾ and grammar,³⁾ as well as in the manuals of erotics and particularly in politics.⁴⁾ Needless to say, Kālidāsa was also thoroughly at home in the sciences of poetics and dramaturgy. His style is simple and dignified, and free from exaggerated artificialities; and yet occasionally he uses certain figures of speech in a way which shows, and is perhaps intended to show, that he was familiar with the textbooks of poetics. Among these is, for instance, the frequent use of the medial rhyme (yamaka) in Canto XVIII of the *Raghuvamśa* and Act IV of the drama *Vikramorvaśīya*.⁵⁾ When he says in the *Raghuvamśa* (XIV, 9) that the royal apparel of Rāma, who already shines in natural beauty, is a "fault of tautology" (punaruktadoṣa), he is certainly using a technical term from the

1) See Ch. Harris. *An Investigation on some of Kālidāsa's Views*, Evansville, Indiana, 1931; M. T. Narasimhiengar, *Kālidāsa's Religion and Philosophy*, in *Ind. Ant.* 39, 1910, 233 ff.; Hillebrandt, *Kalidasa*, p. 137 ff.; G. Tucci in *RSO* 9, 1923, 1 ff.

2) See Haraprasad Sāstri in *JBORS* 2, 1916, p. 186.

3) In his comparisons we find allusions to technical grammatical terms, s. Hillebrandt, *Kalidasa*, p. 143.

4) See Hillebrandt, *Kalidasa*, p. 20 ff.; N. G. Majumdar in *Ind. Ant.* 47, 1918, p. 195; Tucci in *RSO* 9, 1923, 9 ff., 22 ff.; A. H. Shah, *Kautilya and Kalidasa* in *QJMS*, Vol. X, No. 4 and XI, Nos. 1-3.

5) See Hillebrandt, *Kalidasa*, p. 107 ff.

Alamkāraśāstra. It is true that the manuals of poetics which have come down to us are later than Kālidāsa, but the manual of histrionics and dramaturgy by Bharata must have been known to Kālidāsa in some form or other. In the Vikramorvaśīya the Apsaras Urvaśī appears in a drama by Bharata, the divine theatrical manager, in Indra's heaven. Kālidāsa also certainly knew much of music, singing and dancing, and was probably a musician himself.¹⁾

His detailed knowledge of various parts of India leads us to suppose that Kālidāsa, like other Indian poets, had travelled extensively. It is true that he takes special delight in depicting the scenery of the Himālayas ; ²⁾ but he also knows very well the land north of the Vindhya Hills, the present-day Malwa. His affectionate description of the city of Ujjayinī in the poem Meghadūta leads us to think that he must at least have lived there a long time, if indeed it was not his native town.³⁾ The title of the drama Vikramorvaśīya perhaps contains an allusion to Vikramāditya,⁴⁾ and would seem to indicate that he lived and wrote at the court of a king whose title was Vikramāditya. This agrees with the stories which make Kālidāsa the court-poet of Vikramāditya, and especially with the tradition according to which

1) See G. N. Majumdar in Ann. Bh. Inst. 7, 1925-26, p. 17 ff.

2) See Bhāu Dāji in Nandargikar's Introduction to his edition of the Raghuvamśa, p. 35 f.

3) Haraprasad Śāstri (JBORS 1, 1915, 197 ff.) thought he could prove from the geographical allusions that Malwa was the home of Kālidāsa. Pandit Liebhmi Dhar Khalla, in a very learned but by no means convincing study, "The Birth-place of Kālidāsa" (The Delhi University Publications, No. 1), Delhi 1926, has sought to prove that Kashmir was the home of Kālidāsa. Others have supposed that he was born in Vidarbha, because he wrote in the Vidarbha style (Vaidarbhi). See N. G. Majumdar in Ind. Ant. 47, 1918, p. 264; F. G. Peterson in JRAS 1926, p. 725 f. Even Bengal has been claimed by a Bengali patriot as the home of the poet (s. Khalla, l. c., p. 4).

4) According to Shankar P. Panāit (Edition of the Raghuvamśa, Preface, p. 31 ff.) the real meaning of the title would be "the drama of Urvaśī dedicated to Vikrama or written under the patronage of King Vikrama." However, even if the correct interpretation of the title is, as I think it is, "the drama of Urvaśī who was won by bravery," it is not impossible that an allusion to King Vikrama, i.e., Vikramāditya, is intended.

Kālidāsa is said to have lived as one of the "nine jewels" at the court of the famous legendary king of Ujjayinī. For a verse, which has come down to us, tells us that at the court of King Vikrama there lived nine "jewels," namely the scholars and poets Dhanvantari, Kṣapaṇaka, Amarasiṃha, Śaṅku, Vetālabhaṭṭa, Ghaṭakarpara, Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira and Vararuci. This verse however, occurs only in a late and not very trustworthy work.¹⁾ Moreover, it is proved that Varāhamihira, the astronomer, lived in the first half of the 6th century, and just at that time no king is known who had assumed the title Vikramāditya. Furthermore, in his style and his astrological opinions, Kālidāsa is earlier than Varāhamihira.²⁾ Likewise Dhanvantari, the author of a medical glossary, is earlier than Amarasiṃha, and it is proved that the latter used Kālidāsa in his dictionary.³⁾ The time of the lexicographer Kṣapaṇaka, the poet Ghaṭakarpara and the grammarian Vararuci is uncertain, whilst the names Śaṅku and Vetālabhaṭṭa are otherwise unknown. It is altogether striking that among the "nine jewels" only Amarasiṃha, Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira and Vararuci are really famous names. It appears that the sole purpose of the verse was to enhance the fame of some Vikramāditya or other, by transferring poets and scholars of various periods all into his reign. This popular tradition, which has often been cited, is therefore quite unreliable. The only truth behind it seems to be that Kālidāsa lived at the court of a king who called himself Vikramāditya.

¹⁾ In the astrological text *Jyotiṛvidābharaṇa*, which was erroneously attributed to Kālidāsa, and which was probably not written until the 16th century, s. A. Weber in ZDMG 22, 186^o, 708 ff. It is said that a mention of the "nine jewels" is already to be found in an inscription of Buddhagayā dated in the year 948. This inscription has, however, got lost, and is known only from a very dubious copy by Wilmot and the translation by Ch. Wilkins (As. Res. 1, 1806, 284 ff.). Wilmot seems to have been the victim of a forgery. See A. Holtzmann, Ueber den griechischen Ursprung des indischen Tierkreises, Karlsruhe 1841, pp. 18 ff., 27 ff.; Bühler, Die indischen Inschriften etc., p. 78 f.; Zachariae, Die indischen Wörterbücher, p. 18 f.; Fleet in Ind. Ant. 30, 1901, 3 f.

²⁾ Jacobi in ZDMG 30, 1876, 304 f.

³⁾ Zachariae, l. c., p. 6, and Beiträge zur indischen Lexikographie (Berlin, 1883), p. 37.

Some Indian scholars have concluded from this that Kālidāsa was the court poet of that King Vikramāditya¹⁾ of Ujjayinī, who is said to have founded the so-called Vikrama era in commemoration of the defeat of the Śakas in the year 58 B.C.²⁾ All manner of arguments have also been adduced to prove that Kālidāsa belonged to the 1st or even the 2nd century B.C. Every one of these arguments is so feeble that they do not gain in strength even when marshalled together. The only evidence which might be taken seriously is that of a terracotta medallion found in Bhīṭā (near Allahabad), dating from the period of the Śuṅga dynasty, if the scene of a hermitage depicted on this medallion is really an illustration of Act I of Kālidāsa's drama Śakuntalā. But, as Sir John H. Marshall states, the whole style of this finely executed picture reminds us forcibly of the reliefs of Sāñchi,³⁾ and for this reason it is more likely that it represents a scene from one or other of the Jātakas.

If it could really be proved that Aśvaghoṣa made use of Kālidāsa's works in his two epics Saundarananda and Buddhacarita, it would constitute a strong argument in favour of dating Kālidāsa earlier.⁴⁾ It must be admitted that it is *a priori* more probable that a Buddhist poet drew on Brahmanical models than that Kālidāsa, who nowhere evinces a predilection for, or even an intimate acquaintance with, Buddhism, should have been

1) On this king, who belongs to legend rather than to history, see E. J. Rapson, Cambridge History I, 532 f., 571, 581. That the Vikrama era is identical with the Mālava era was first demonstrated by F. Kielhorn in Ind. Ant. 19, 1890, p. 316.

2) Thus K. G. Sankar and K. M. Shembavnekar, see above, p. 16, foot-note 2. Dharendra-nath Mukhopadhyaya, "The Gupta Era" (Daulatpore College Magazine "Devayatana," 1934, pp. 20-32, 141-162) endeavours to prove that the Gupta era is identical with the Vikrama era, in which case Kālidāsa also would belong to the period of the 1st century B.C. His arguments are not convincing.

3) JRAS 1911, p. 138, Cambridge History I, 643, Plate XXIX, No. 81. Also Kshetresāchandra Chatṭopādhyāya, The Date of Kālidāsa, see above, p. 16, foot-note 2, who upholds the early date of Kālidāsa, does not admit the evidence of the Bhīṭā medallion.

4) More especially Kshetresāchandra Chatṭopādhyāya has endeavoured to prove this by numerous comparisons; earlier already Nandargikar, Raghuvaṃśa Ed. 1897, Introd., p. 161 ff. See Hillebrandt, Kalidasa, p. 102 ff., 160.

influenced by the Buddhist poet. All that has been done hitherto however, is to draw parallels between the works of the two poets, from which some have concluded that Kālidāsa imitated Aśvaghoṣa, whilst others maintained the converse.¹⁾ So far no clear and definite proof has been found that there was any mutual influence and that either the one or the other was the borrower.

From the nature of the case it is most improbable that Kālidāsa should have been separated by more than half a millenium from the classical poets of the 6th and 7th centuries, with whom he shows manifold affinities in language, style and the social conditions he describes. Now we know that the Gupta princes Candragupta II and Skandagupta assumed the title Vikramāditya on coins. We have seen, also, that it was precisely the first Gupta princes who had pronounced artistic, literary and scholarly leanings. There is some additional circumstantial evidence that makes it probable that Candragupta II is the Vikramāditya under whom Kālidāsa lived. His capital was Ujjayinī, where Kālidāsa certainly lived for a long time. Many passages in the epic Raghuvamśa have been taken to allude to Candragupta II, and in my opinion, rightly so.²⁾ In the same epic Kālidāsa speaks of the poet of the Rāmāyaṇa as a mythical seer of antiquity, who lived in another Yuga, a remote period of the world's history. We see from this that centuries must have elapsed between Vālmīki and Kālidāsa. Moreover, it has long since been pointed out by Jacobi³⁾ that certain astrological data in Kālidāsa's epics reveal an acquaintance with Greek astrology, and that the stage of Greek astrology as represented in

1) With the same definiteness with which Chattopādhyāya defends his thesis, *Haraprasād Sāstrī* (JBORS 2, 1916, p. 186) says: "He (Kālidāsa) knew Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda*, some of the finest sentiments of which he has borrowed, improved, elaborated and perfected. The same is true of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*."

2) T. Bloch in ZDMG 62, 1908, 671 ff. The objections raised against Bloch by F. W. Thomas in JRAS, 1909, 740 ff. do not appear to me convincing. Of course, it can never be proved conclusively whether the poet really intended the allusions in question or not.

3) Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1873, p. 554 ff., and ZDMG 30, 1876, 302 ff.

the works of the Indian astrologers, corresponds to that which is evidenced by Firmicus Maternus about the middle of the 4th century A.D. Bühler,¹⁾ however, has shown that the author of an inscription in the Sun Temple at Mandasor of the year 473 A.D., an otherwise quite insignificant versifier named Vatsabbatti, made it his business to compete with the great Kālidāsa, not only by imitating his style, but by actually taking verses from Kālidāsa's poems as the model for some of his own verses. If this is correct, it must be assumed that Kālidāsa was already a famous poet in the year 473 A.D., in which case Kālidāsa's age could be set between the limits 350 and 472 A.D. And it is necessary to remember in this connection that Candragupta II reigned from about 375 to 413 A.D.

A few scholars are inclined to consider Kālidāsa as a contemporary of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta who lived towards the close of the 5th century;²⁾ but as we know nothing at all about Kālidāsa's life, not even how old he lived to be, it would be best to assume that his activity began in the time of Candragupta II, continued through the reign of Kumāragupta and perhaps lasted as late as the first years of Skandagupta's reign.³⁾ In that case he would have lived from about 390 to 460 A.D. But it is just as possible that he lived earlier

1) Die indischen Inschriften etc., pp. 18 ff., 24 f. Cf. Kielhorn in NGGW, 1890, 251 ff.

2) These scholars (Monmohun Chakravarti in JRAS 1903, 183 ff.; 1904, 158 ff.; B. C. Mazumdar, in JRAS 1909, 731 ff.; B. Liebhich, Indogerman. Forschungen 31, 200) rely mainly on the description of Raghu's conquering expeditions (digvijaya) in Canto IV of the Raghuvamśa. Bühler had already (Die indischen Inschriften etc., p. 82) warned us against drawing too sweeping conclusions from these stereotyped descriptions. (See also K. B. Pathak in Ind. Ant. 41, 1912, 265 ff.) Even the latest attempt by A. Gawron'ski (The Digvijaya of Raghu and some connected Problems, in Rocznik Orientalistyczny, Polnische Archiv fuer Orientalistik, Krakau 1914-1915) to prove that Kālidāsa came to the court in the reign of Kumāragupta and became the famous court-poet under Skandagupta, has not convinced me. Sten Konow in Festschrift Wackernagel 1923, p. 4 calls the Kumārasambhava "a poem which I believe was written in celebration of the birth of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta or of his successor Skandagupta."

3) Thus E. Windisch, Geschichte der Sanskritphilologie (Grundriss I, 1 B), p. 175, note 2.

(from about 350 to 420 A.D.). For the only thing about which we are quite *sure* is that the fame of Kālidāsa was already firmly established in the first half of the 7th century; for he is mentioned by the poet Bāṇa and also in an inscription of the year 634 as a famous poet.¹⁾ For this reason alone, if for no other, the theory that Kālidāsa lived as late as the 6th century A.D., which used to be commonly held, and is still held by a few scholars,²⁾ cannot be accepted.

Just as Kālidāsa's time is uncertain, in the same way there is not as yet complete unanimity as to which works should rightly be attributed to him; for there is a great number of works which are attributed to a Kālidāsa, but which were certainly not written by the great poet.³⁾ There is no doubt that he was the author of the epics Kumārasambhava and Raghuvamśa, the dramas Śakuntalā and Vikramorvaśīya and the lyrical poem Meghadūta, and it is

1) On this inscription of the Megati temple of Aihole, see *Fleet* in *Ind. Ant.* 8, 1879, 237 ff. and *Kielhorn* in *Ep. Ind.* 6, 1-12. *Kielhorn* (*Ind. Ant.* 20, 1891, p. 190) has made it seem probable that the authors of Prāśasti-inscriptions of the 6th century and even of an inscription of Cambodia of the beginning of the 7th century, were familiar with the Raghuvamśa.

2) Thus especially A. F. R. *Hoernle* (*IRAS* 1909, 89 ff.; *Ind. Ant.* 41, 1912, 156) has built up an airy structure of hypothesis to prove that Yaśodharman who defeated or helped to defeat the Huns (see above, p. 15) is the Vikramāditya of the legend, under whom Kālidāsa lived though Yaśodharman nowhere bears the title Vikramāditya. The view that Kālidāsa lived in the 6th century is still held by D. R. *Bhandarkar*, in *Ann. Bh. Inst.* 8, 1926-27, p. 200 ff. and *Asutosh Mem. Vol.*, p. 72 ff. *Haraprasad Sāstri* (*JBORS* 2, 1916, 31 ff., 391 f.; cf. B. C. *Mazumdar* ib. 388 ff.) believes that he belongs to the second half of the period 404-533 A.D.

3) An enumeration of the works which pass under the name of Kālidāsa is given by M. *Sashagiri Sāstri* in *Ind. Ant.* I, 1872, 340 ff. Cf. *Aufrecht*, CC I, 93. The stanzas which are attributed to a Kālidāsa in the anthologies have been collected by Th. *Aufrecht* in *ZDMG* 39, 1885, 306 ff.; cf. *Thomas*, *Kav.* 30 ff. The question of the time of Kālidāsa and also that of the authorship of the works attributed to him is rendered considerably more difficult by some of the poets of a later period having taken to themselves the epithet of a "new Kālidāsa" (*Navakālidāsa*, *Abhinavakālidāsa*; see *Aufrecht*, CC, I, 24, 280). Among the Pandits the opinion is prevalent that there were three Kālidāsas, one under Vikramāditya, one under Bhoja and one under the Emperor Akbar (cf. *Weber*, *ZDMG* 23, 713; 27, 175 f., 182; *Peterson*, *Subh.* 18 ff.). In the anthology *Haribhārāvallī* an Akbarīyakālidāsa is quoted.

practically certain that he wrote the drama *Mālavikāgnimitra* and probably, also, the cycle of songs *Ṛtusamhāra*.¹⁾

But Kālidāsa is not the only great poet whose exact date cannot be fixed. The same is the case with most of the other great poets of ancient India. We may even go so far as to say, the more famous in literature the name of a poet, the more uncertain his date. Of some erstwhile famous poets nothing indeed is left to us but the name. Thus Kālidāsa names among his predecessors, besides Bhāsa, a famous poet Saumilla; and in the anthologies a poet Rāmila is named, besides Bhāsa and Saumilla (or Somila). A work entitled *Sūdrakakathā* (which has not come down to us, probably a novel dealing with king Sūdraka)²⁾ is attributed to these two poets. It is of course impossible for us to know whether these two were older contemporaries of Kālidāsa, or whether they should be placed with Bhāsa in the pre-classical period. King Sūdraka, who is mentioned by the historian Kalhaṇa³⁾ together with Vikramāditya, whose historical position is indeed dubious, is also said to be the author of a famous drama, *Mṛcchakaṭika*. It is more likely that he belongs to a period slightly later than that of Kālidāsa.⁴⁾

1) The attempt has also been made to establish the order of Kālidāsa's works according to their time of origin. It is assumed that the *Ṛtusamhāra* is a less perfect work composed in the poet's youth and that the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is his first dramatic work. But this chronology of the works (cf. *Haraprasād Śāstrī* in JBORS 2, 1916, 179 ff. and R. D. Karmarkar in Proc. II, OC 1922, p. 239 ff.) is based merely upon subjective judgments of the value of the poems. The rule that the later the work is written, the more perfect it is, should in my opinion be applied only to artisans and not to poets.

2) See Konow in Festschrift Kuhn 105 ff.; Peterson, Subh. 193 f.

3) *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 3, 343.

4) There is no reason to doubt that there was a historical King Sūdraka (he even appears in inscriptions), and it is equally safe to assume that a Sūdraka was actually the author of the drama. It is, however, more difficult to determine his date. See Keith, Drama p. 129 ff. Konow, Drama, p. 56 ff., places him in the 3rd century A.D., A. Gauron'ski in KZ 44, 1911, 211 in the 3rd or the 4th century A.D. *Haraprasād Śāstrī* in JBORS 2, 1916, 186 assumes that Kālidāsa knew the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. Kaśetraśachandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya, The Date of Kālidāsa, p. 107 f., is convinced that Aśvaghoṣa was acquainted with the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. The astrological data in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, to which Jyotis Chandra Ghatak (JDL 14, 1927)

Kalhana also relates that at the court of "the sole ruler of the whole world" Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī¹⁾ there lived a poet Mātr̥gupta who was made King of Kashmir by this mighty monarch. In this capacity he was the patron of the poet Menṭha, also known as Bhartṛmenṭha and Hastipaka, and verses by this poet as well as by Mātr̥gupta himself are contained in the anthologies.²⁾ A later Kashmiri poet³⁾ compares the style of Menṭha with that of Subandhu, Bāṇa and Bhāravi. The poet Rājasekhara says that Vālmīki has reappeared on earth in the form of Menṭha; and Kalhana relates that Mātr̥gupta was so delighted with the poem Hayagrīvavaḍha by Menṭha (which has not come down to us) that he laid a golden dish under the book, "lest its flavour should escape." According to Kalhana, when Vikramāditya died, Mātr̥gupta gave up the throne of Kashmir in favour of Pravarasena II, who, according to Hsüan-Tsang, was a contemporary of Harṣa Śilāditya in the second half of the 6th century.⁴⁾ This Pravarasena, who is described by Kalhana as the glorious ruler of Kashmir who

and before him Pandit Hirananda Śāstri (s. Rai Bahadur Hiralal in JBORS 14, 1928, 307 f.) have called attention, are certainly no proof of the 3rd or the 2nd century B.C. as the date of the drama. At the most they can prove that Śūdraka should be placed before Varāhamihira. K. C. Mehendale (Bhandarkar Com. Vol., p. 367 ff.) is in favour of placing Śūdraka "provisionally to the middle of the sixth century after Christ."

1) *Ekacchattrasācakra-vartī*, Rājatarāṅgiṇī 3, 125. It is added that he was called also by the name Harṣa. In 3, 330 it is said of Pravarasena that he restored to his throne "Pratāpaśīla, also called Śilāditya, the son of Vikramāditya." From this M. A. Stein (Rājatarāṅgiṇī Transl. I, p. 83 f.) has concluded that this Vikramāditya-Harṣa is identical with the Vikramāditya whom Hsüan Tsang mentions as the predecessor of Śilāditya and who should be placed in the first half of the 6th century. It seems, however, that Kalhana confused the various Vikramādityas.

2) Rājatar. 3, 125 ff.; 260 ff. Verses by Mātr̥gupta are also cited by Kalhana (Rājatar. 3, 181) and in Kṣementra's *Ancityālaṃkāra* (s. Peterson, JBRAS 16, 169, 176). He is also said to have written a commentary on the Bhāratīya-Nāṭya-Śāstra. Bhau Dajī has attempted to identify Mātr̥gupta with Kālidāsa, but there are no grounds whatever for doing this (cf. Stein, Rājatar. Transl., note to 3, 129). On Menṭha cf. Aufrecht in ZDMG 27, 51; 26, 368; Peterson, Subh. 92 ff., 117 f.; Bühler, Report 42; Stein, Rājatarāṅgiṇī Transl. I, p. 83 f.

3) Mañkha in the Śrīkaṭṭhacarita, 2, 53.

4) Stein, Rājatarāṅgiṇī Transl. I, pp. 76, 84 f.

founded the capital city of Śrīnagar, has been identified with the author of the Prākṛit epic *Setubandha*. Probably, however, the author of this epic is the Vākāṭaka prince Pravarasena II, a son of •Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Candragupta II, and therefore a junior contemporary of Kālidāsa.¹⁾

The dramatic poet Viśākhadatta probably lived under one of the immediate successors of Candragupta II,—either Kumāragupta I or Skandagupta.²⁾

The first certain date we come across is that of the astronomer and poet Varāhamihira, who died in 587 A.D. Of the famous epic poets Bhaṭṭi and Bhāravi, as also of Bhartṛhari, the foremost among the gnomic poets, we know for certain only that they were already famous before 650 A.D.³⁾ Bhāravi was a contemporary of Dāmodara, the great-grandfather of Daṇḍin, and a friend of prince Viṣṇuvardhana, before he became the Eastern Cālukya king in 615 A.D. This Dāmodara was also a contemporary of the Gaṅga king Durvinīta, and of Simhaviṣṇu, the Pallava king of Kāñcī, who also belong to the

1) S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in *Ann. Bh. Inst.* 5, 1923-24, p. 31 ff., and *Asutosh Mem. Vol.*, p. 151 ff. Cf. J. Nobel in *ZII* 5, 1927, p. 142. According to S. K. Aiyangar, Kuntaleśa, "the ruler of Kuntala," who is also mentioned as the author of the *Setubandha*, is none other than the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II.

2) J. Charpentier already in *JRAS* 1923 585 ff. placed Viśākhadatta in the reign of Skandagupta. At any rate, from the contents of the newly discovered drama *Devī-Candragupta* it seems probable that he did not live as early as the reign of Candragupta II, but under one of his successors. See R. D. Bhandarkar in *MCV*, p. 189 f. Others were inclined to consider him as a contemporary of Candragupta II, cf. Konow, *Drama*, p. 71; K. P. Jayaswal in *Ind. Ant.* 42, 1913, 265 ff. Hillebrandt (*Ueber das Kauṭīliyaśāstra*, p. 25 ff. and *ZDMG* 69, 1915, 363) attributed the *Mudrārākṣasa* to the 4th century A.D. Due to a wrong reading in the *Bharatavākya*, Jacobi (*WZKM* 2, 1888, 212 ff.) and others attributed the drama to the 8th or 9th century A.D. Keith too (*Drama*, p. 204) thinks, there is nothing against placing this drama in the 9th century, although it may be earlier. V. J. Antani (*Ind. Ant.*, 51, 1922, p. 49 ff.) thinks that the *Mudrārākṣasa* could have been written at the earliest after the time of Yaśodharman (c.45 A.D.), that is, in the 7th century.

3) Bhaṭṭi says at the end of his epic that he lived under Dharasena of Valabhī. But there are four rulers of this name who ruled between 495 and 641 A.D. It is impossible to decide which of them is meant. See Duff, p. 308, and Hultzsch in *ZDMG* 72, 1918, 145 ff. Bhāravi is mentioned in the Aihole inscription (see above p. 24, note 1) as a famous poet. Bhartṛhari is mentioned by I-tsing about 650 A.D.

beginning of the 7th century.¹⁾ Hence Bhāravi must have lived at the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century, and Daṇḍin,²⁾ the famous narrator and author of a well-known handbook of poetics, at the end of the 7th century. The great master of ornate prose Subandhu³⁾ and the most celebrated

1) We know this from Daṇḍin's genealogy as given in the *Avantisundarikathā*. Cf. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, *Avantisundarikathāsāra* and *Avantisundarikathā*, 1924, *Intro.*, p. 2 ff.; S. K. De, in *IHQ* 1, 1925, 31 ff.; 3, 1927, 395 ff.; G. Harihara Śāstrī in *IHQ* 3, 1927, 169 ff.; A. Rangaswami Sarasvatī in *QJMS*, April 1923; Keith, *HSL*, p. xvi f.; J. Nobel in *ZII* 5, 1927, p. 146. On Viṣṇuvardhana s. Smith, *Early History*, 441; C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, I, 297. On Simhaviṣṇu s. Smith l. c. 494; G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, Pondicherry 1920, pp. 62 ff., 68.

2) According to a verse quoted in the anthologies, there were three famous works by Daṇḍin (s. *Aufrecht* in *ZDMG* 27, 34). The most famous are the manual of poetics *Kāvyaadarśa* and the novel *Daśakumāracarita*. There is no reason to doubt that the author of *Kāvyaadarśa* is identical with the author of the novel. There is uncertainty about the third work. K. B. Pathak (*JBRAS* 20, 1898, 39) concluded from *Kāvyaād.* 3, 114, that Daṇḍin lived before 601 A. D. On the other hand R. Narasimhachar (*Ind. Ant.* 41, 1912, 90 ff.) tries to prove from *Kāvyaād.* 2, 279, by identifying the Rājavarman mentioned there with Rājasiṃhavarman, and the latter with Narasiṃhavarman II of Kāñcī, that Daṇḍin lived at the end of the 7th century. According to *Hari Chand*, *Kālidāsa*, p. 80 f., he knew Bāṇa's works, and should be placed in the first half of the 7th century. Kane, *Intro.* p. xxxv, places Daṇḍin between 500 and 630 A. D.; De, *Poetics*, I, 70 at the beginning of the 8th century; J. Nobel (*ZII* 5, 1927, p. 149) at the end of the 7th century. Keith (*HSL*, p. 296 f.) assigns him to nearly the same age.

3) Subandhu is extolled by Bāṇa, and cannot therefore be later than the 7th century. The logician Uddyotakara, who is mentioned by Subandhu, was probably his contemporary. There are also other reasons in favour of placing him at the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century A. D. Cf. Telang in *JBRAS* 18, 1891, 147 ff.; D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.* 41, 1912, p. 1; L. H. Gray, *Vāsavadattā*, *Transl. Intro.*, p. 6 ff.; Keith, *HSL*, p. 307 f., and Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya in *IHQ* 5, 1939, 999 ff., where the view advocated by R. V. Krishnamachariar in the introduction to his edition of the *Vāsavadattā*, namely that Subandhu was later than Bāṇa, is refuted. Haraprasad Śāstrī (*JASB* 1, 1905, 253 ff.) on the basis of a clever, but rather daring hypothesis, seeks to place him at the beginning of the 5th century. From Verse 10 of the *Vāsavadattā*, where Subandhu complains that with the death of Vikramāditya poetic art fell into decay, we may safely conclude that Subandhu wrote at a time when Vikramāditya was already looked upon as a traditional patron of poets, and that might very well be about 100-150 years after the death of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. According to the colophon in some manuscripts, and in the opinion of a few commentators, Subandhu was a nephew of Vararuci. S. Bhattacharyya (l. c., p. 714) is of opinion that this tradition may have a historical basis. But unfortunately we know nothing about Vararuci's time.

lyrical poet Amaru¹⁾ most probably also belong to the 7th century.

With the dramatic poet and king Harṣadeva or Harṣavardhana²⁾ of Thānesar and Kanauj, who reigned from 606 to 647 A.D., we at last reach firm historical ground. We have much more information about his life and deeds than about any other Indian ruler, not only from inscriptions and coins, but also from the historical novel Harṣacarita, in which the poet Bāṇa has described the life of his lord and friend, and especially also from the detailed reports of the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-Tsang, who travelled throughout India between 630 and 644, and lived for a considerable time at the court of Harṣadeva and was highly honoured by him.³⁾ From his inscriptions we know that he had pronounced literary leanings, and was not only a patron of poets and authors, but liked composing poetry himself.⁴⁾ Hence we have no reason to doubt the Indian tradition and the Chinese reports which mention him as the author of dramas and Buddhist hymns. After having waged ravaging wars of conquest for thirty-seven years, he devoted the rest of his life to peaceful rule in his large kingdom extending over almost the whole of Northern India, promoted literature and learning, founded monasteries and institutions for public welfare, and administered his kingdom wisely. Towards the end of his life he evinced a strong inclination towards Buddhism, which—

1) The only thing that is certain is that at the time of Ānandavardhana (about 850 A.D.) he was already a famous poet. Keith, HSL, p. 183, is of opinion that he should be placed after, rather than before, 650 A. D., but he gives no reasons.

2) Generally called Harṣa or also Śrīharṣa. He has the epithet Śilāditya "Son of virtue." Bāṇa (Harṣacarita, Introduction, 18 f.) also calls him Āḍhyarāja ("the rich king"); s. Pischel in NGGW 1901, Heft 4; Thomas in JRAS 1903, 830.

3) Cf. Smith, Early History, pp. 343-373.; C. V. Vaidya in JBRAS 24, 1916, 236 ff. and History of Mediaeval Hindu India, 1, 1921, 1 ff.; K. M. Panikkar, Śrīharṣa of Kanauj, Bombay 1922; Radhakumud Mookerjee, Harsha, Oxford 1926; Niharrajan Ray in IHQ 3, 1927, 769 ff.; Rama Shankar Tripathi in MCV 261 ff.

4) Bühler in Ep. Ind. 1, 71 (Inscription of the year 732). I-tsing too (transl. by Takakusu, p. 163) emphasizes the fact that Śilāditya was a friend of literature.

especially under the influence of the learned Chinese Hsüan-Tsang—he began to favour more and more. For at Harṣadeva's time Buddhism was still widely prevalent in Northern India, although the Brahmanical and Purāṇic cults were also current among the mass of the population. It is significant that the king's grand-father was an enthusiastic worshipper of Śiva, his father an equally enthusiastic worshipper of the sun-god, and his elder brother and his sister were adherents of Buddhism, whilst he himself honoured Śiva and the sun-god in addition to Buddha by founding temples and shrines.¹⁾ Harṣadeva's impartial attitude towards the religious tendencies of his day is revealed, as we shall see, also in his poetry. It was probably only in the last part of his life that he devoted himself to composing Buddhistic hymns.

Besides Bāṇa, the poet who composed novels, Harṣadeva's circle also included the lyrical poet Mayūra, who, according to one tradition, is said to have been the father-in-law or brother-in-law of Bāṇa.²⁾

In the second half of the 7th century, or perhaps at the beginning of the 8th century, lived Māgha, the poet of the Śisūpālavadha; for his grand-father Suprabhadra was the first minister of a king Varmalāta, who is mentioned in an inscription of the year 625 A.D.³⁾ He is at any rate later than Bhāravi,

1) Hsüan Tsang also tells us of a great conference at Prayāga, at which on the first day the statue of Buddha, on the second that of the sun-god, and on the third that of Śiva was erected. At the distribution of alms the king made presents on the fourth day to 20,000 Buddhist monks, but on the following days Brahmans and priests of other sects received just as liberal gifts. On Harṣadeva as author of Buddhistic hymns, see above, Vol. II, pp. 377, 385.

2) Mayūra is dealt with in detail by G. P. Quackenbos, *The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra* edited with a Translation and Notes and an Introduction, etc. New York, 1917 (CUI 9).

3) Cf. F. Kielhorn in NGGW 1906, 143 ff.; JRAS 1908, 499 ff. Śrīmāla lies in the vicinity of Mount Abū, which, according to the inscription, belonged to the realm of King Varmalāta. In the verse of the Śisūpālavadha II, 112 some scholars, like the Indian commentators, have thought they saw an allusion to the grammarian Jinendrabuddhi, who wrote the commentary Nyāsa on the Kāśikā in about 700 A. D., cf. D. R. Bhandarkar in Ep. Ind. 9, 187 ff.; K. B. Pathak in JBRAS 23, 1908, 18 ff., 30 f. and Ann. Bh. Inst. 12, 1930-31, 246 ff.;

whom he took as his model. His native town was Śrīmāla in Gujarat. According to the poet's own statements and according to various anecdotes which are told about him by the Jains,¹⁾ he was the son of a rich man, and himself lived as a wealthy man of independent means.

The earliest ruler of Kanauj of whom we hear anything after the death of Harṣadeva (647 A.D.) is Yaśovarman, who in the year 731 sent an embassy to China, and nine or ten years later was robbed of his throne by Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa.²⁾ He was fond of literature, and is himself mentioned as the author of a drama Rāmābhyudaya, and verses in the anthologies are attributed to him.³⁾ At his court lived the celebrated dramatist Bhavabhūti and the Prākṛit poet Vākpatirāja, the author of Gaṇḍavaha, who calls himself a pupil of Bhavabhūti.⁴⁾ The dramatist Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa cannot be much later, as he is already quoted by Vāmana.⁵⁾

P. V. Kane in JBRAS 23, 1909, 91 ff.; Keith HSL 122, and Ind. Off. Cat. No. 7012. But the allusion has already been disputed, and rightly so, by F. Kielhorn (JBRAS 20, 303 ff. and JRAS 1908, 499 ff.); cf. D. C. Bhattacharya in Ind. Ant. 46, 1917, p. 191 f.; E. Hultzsch, Māgha's Śiśupālavadha übers., Leipzig 1926, p. v f. It is quite certain that Māgha lived already before 800 A.D., see Jacobi in WZKM 4, 1890, 236 ff.; Hultzsch, l. c.p., iv f. Hence the anecdote, related in the Prabhāvakacarita, which makes Māgha a contemporary of the Jioistic poet Siddha (906 A. D., see above, Vol. II, p. 526), has no historical value at all. In an inscription of the year 861 A.D. (Ep. Ind., 9, 250 f., verse 16 of the Praśasti) a verse of the Śiśupālavadha (12, 52) is imitated.

1) The anecdote told in Merorūṅga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi (transl. by Tawney, p. 48 ff.) and in Ballāla's Bhojaprabandha, which makes him a contemporary of King Bhoja, is certainly just as unhistorical as are all the literary anecdotes told in these works.

2) Cf. Smith, Early History, p. 392; H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India, p. 276 f.

3) Peterson, Subh. 95 f.; Thomas, Kav. 75 f.

4) Rājatarāṅgiṇī 4, 144; Gaṇḍavaha 799. Cf. Shankar P. Pandit, Gaṇḍavaha, Introd., p. lxiv. According to the Subhāṣitāvalī he was a son of Harṣadeva, and according to the Yaśastilaka he was thrown into prison by Yaśovarman, where he composed his poem; s. Peterson, Subh. 115.

5) Veṇīsaṃphāra 5, 152 quoted in Kāvyaśāmpkāravṛtti 4, 3, 28. In support of the theory that Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa lived in the 8th century, may be adduced also the tradition according to which he is said to have been one of the Kanauj-Brahmans who were invited to Bengal by Adīśūra, and from whom the Kulin-Brahmans of this province are descended. Cf. S. M. Tagore, Veṇī-Saṃphāra Nāṭaka, Preface; H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India, p. 320.

With Bhavabhūti we may say that the Golden Age of Ornate Poetry, or the classical period of Indian poetry, is concluded.

THE MOST PROMINENT POETS OF THE LATER CENTURIES.

Under the Kashmiri kings Cippatajayāpīḍa (826-838) and Avantivarman (855-883) there lived the epic poet Rājānaka Ratnākara, the author of Harivijaya, Vakroktipañcāśikā and numerous verses of the anthologies.¹⁾

At the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century, under the rulers of Kanauj Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla, lived the dramatist Rājaśekhara,²⁾ who calls himself the teacher of King Mahendrapāla and the contemporary of Kṛṣṇaśaṅkaravarman. Verses by Rājaśekhara are often quoted in the anthologies. Many of them are about various poets, and as such are of great importance for the history of literature. They are probably taken from a work on poetics by this author.³⁾

In the 11th century the city of Dhārā in Mālava plays a prominent part in literature. There ruled King Muñja (974-995),⁴⁾ who was a great patron of poets, a lover of literature,

1) Verses by him have been translated by *Aufrecht* in ZDMG 36, 372 ff. Cf. *Peterson*, Subh. 96 ff.; *Jacobi* in WZKM 2, 212 ff.; 5, 25 ff.; Rājatarāṅgiṇī 5, 34; V. S. Apte, Rājaśekhara, his Life and Writings, Poona 1886, p. 16 f.; *Bühler*, Report 42 ff. and *Stein*, Rājatarāṅgiṇī Transl., Vol. I, p. 95 f.

2) Cf. *Fleet*, in Ind. Ant. 16, 175 ff.; *Kielhorn* in Ep. Ind. 1, 1889, 171; *Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmīn* (Ind. Ant. 41, 1912, 143) places him between 884 and 959. We learn from an inscription that at the beginning of the 11th century he was a poet of considerable reputation; s. *Kielhorn*, in Ep. Ind. 1, 253 f., 270. According to *Hultzsch* (Ind. Ant. 34, 1905, 177 ff.) Rājaśekhara was not a Brahman, but a Kṣatriya and the teacher of Mahendrapāla only in the fine arts, Mahendrapāla reigned from 899 to 907; s. D. R. Bhandarkar in Ep. Ind. 9, 27. For detailed information on Rājaśekhara, see V. S. Apte l. c.; *Sten Konow*, Karpūramañjarī Ed., p. 173 ff.; *Thomas*, Kav. 80 ff. Rājaśekhara is quoted in the commentary on Daśarūpa, in Bhoja's Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, by Ruyyaka, Kṣemendra, Abhinavagupta and in Somadeva's Yaśastilaka.

3) A concordance of these verses is to be found in the introduction to the edition of the Karpūramañjarī, in Km. 4, Cf. *Peterson*, Subh. 101; *Konow*, Karpūramañjarī Ed., p. 196 f.; *Zachariae* in GGA 1887, p. 89 note.

4) He is also called Vākpati II, Utpalarāja, Amoghavarṣa, Pṛthivīvallabha and Śrīvallabha. Cf. *Smith*, Early History 410. Perhaps some of the verses attributed to "Vākpati" in the anthologies belong to this king; s. *Thomas*, Kav. 103.

and a poet himself. He was succeeded by his younger brother Sindhurāja Navasāhasāṅka. As court-poet of these two we know Padmagupta, author of the Navasāhasāṅkacarita. Muñja's nephew Bhoja (about 1010-1055)¹⁾ is far more celebrated as a friend of poets. Many are the legends and anecdotes told of his love of literature and his generosity to poets and scholars, and they are similar to those told of the legendary Vikramāditya. Many erudite works (on poetics, medicine, etc.) as well as poetical works, are attributed to Bhoja himself. Many stanzas by him are cited in the anthologies.²⁾ Curiously enough, no important poet is yet known who could actually have lived at the court of this king.

In the 11th and 12th centuries Kashmir rises to prominence as the seat of literature and learning. Here lived about 1070-1090 A.D., the poet Bilhaṇa, son of Jyeṣṭhakalaśa, famous as the author of lyrical, epic and dramatic poems. He left Kashmir in the reign of Kalaśa (1064-1088), probably in 1065, visited various Indian courts and finally became the court-poet of the prince Vikramāditya VI of the Western Cālukya dynasty, for whom he wrote the Vikramāṅkadevacarita,³⁾ when Harṣa of Kashmir was still a young prince (between 1081 and 1089).

1) As an inscription of Bhoja's successor Jayasimha is dated 1056 A.D. (s. F. Kielhorn in Ep. Ind., 3, p. 46 ff.), Bhoja could have lived only up to 1055. Smith, Early History, 410, gives 1018-1060 as the limits of his reign. Cf. Bühler in Ep. Ind. 1, 222, ff.; Vikramāṅkadevacarita, Introd., p. 23; Stein, Rājatarāṅgiṇī Transl., Note on 7, 190-193; D. R. Bhandarkar in Ind. Ant. 1912, 201; Kane, Introd. p. xvi f.; De, Poetics I, 140 f. and JRAS 1923, 538 ff.; C. V. Vaidya, History of Mediaeval Hindu India, III, 1926, 156 ff. For a list of the works ascribed to Bhoja s. Aufrecht CC I, 418; II, 95.

2) Cf. Aufrecht in ZDMG 27, 67 ff.; Thomas, Kav. 63 ff.

3) Cf. Rājatar. 7, 938; Peterson, Subh. 66 ff.; Pischel, KG 208; Duff, 128; Bühler, Vikramāṅkadevacarita, Introd. p. 20 ff., and Fleet in Ind. Ant. 20, 1 ff., 93 ff., 266 ff., 280 f. (on the chronology of the Cālukyas). Bilhaṇa, the minister of King Vindhyavarmadeva (1160-1180), of whom a hymn to Viṣṇu has come down to us in an inscription, is a different person, s. K. K. Lele, in Ann. Bh. Inst. 11, pp. 49-53. And it is a still later Bilhaṇa or Vilhaṇa who extols the Jinistic poet Āśādhara, s. above II, 590.

Kashmir was the scene of labours also of that prolific writer Kṣemendra,¹⁾ whose activities included almost all fields of literature. He wrote epics and dramas, he abridged the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, he wrote metrical versions of the Kādambarī and the Brhatkathā, he wrote religious poems and a series of highly didactic poems, he composed works on poetics, metrics, politics, and did not even stop short at pornography. Some of his works are dated 1037, 1050, 1052 and 1066. In his earlier years he was an ardent devotee of Śiva, but was later converted to Viṣṇuism and followed the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas. Without becoming a Buddhist himself, he was liberal-hearted enough to make poetical versions of Buddhist legends also.

Somewhat later than Kṣemendra, between 1063 and 1081, Somadeva,²⁾ a master of the art of narration, wrote his famous "Ocean of the Streams of Narrative." The poet Maṅkha, who wrote his epic poem Śrīkaṇṭhacarita between 1135 and 1145,³⁾ lived under the King Jayasimha of Kashmir (1128-1149); and about 1148 Kalhana, the greatest, not to say the only great, historian India has produced, wrote his famous chronicle of Kashmir, the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.

Whilst the rulers of the Pāla dynasty (about 765-1162 A.D.) in Bengal favoured Buddhism, the kings of the Sena dynasty (about 1050-1280 A.D.) were devoted to Hinduism and cultivated Brahmanical literature and learning. Ballālasena (about 1159-1185 A.D.) was himself a very learned man, and he wrote the

1) On him cf. Bühler, Report, 45 ff.; Peterson, Report, 1882-1883, p. 46 ff.; JBRAS, Vol. 16, Extra Number, p. 4 ff.; Subh., 26 ff.; Lévi in JA 1885, s. 8, t. VI, 397 ff.; and Stein, Rājatarāṅgiṇī Transl. II, p. 375 f.; M. B. Emeneau in JAOS 53, 1933, 124 ff. The works which have not come down to us are the epics Muktāvalī and Lāvāṇyavatī, the drama Citrabhārata and the chronicle Rājāvalī which has been severely criticised by Kalhaṇa (Rājatar. I, 13) on account of its unreliableness. A list of Kṣemendra's works is given by De, Poetics I, 142 f.

2) Somadeva wrote his work for the entertainment of Queen Sūryamatī, who in the year 1081, when her consort Ananta ended his life by suicide, burnt herself with him; s. Bühler, Ueber das Zeitalter des kasmirischen Dichters Somadeva, Wien 1885 (SWA).

3) Bühler, Report, 50 ff.

ritual works *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara* on the basis of the *Purāṇas* and *Smṛtis*. Above all, however, it was his son *Lakṣmaṇasena* (about 1185-1206 A.D.)¹⁾ whose court was a centre of poetry and learning in the 12th century A.D. He himself was a poet, and at his court lived the poets *Umāpatidhara*²⁾ (who seems to have survived both *Vijayasena* and *Ballālasena*), *Dhoī*,³⁾ *Govardhana*, and, the greatest of all, *Jayadeva*, the very celebrated author of the *Gītagovinda*. *Halāyudha*, the author of learned works on Brahmanical law, was *Lakṣmaṇasena*'s Chief Justice. Verses by the king himself are to be found in the anthology *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, which was compiled by *Śrīdhara dāsa*, the son of *Vatudāsa*, a vassal and minister of *Lakṣmaṇasena*, in the year 1205 A.D.⁴⁾

Śrīharṣa, the poet of the epic *Naiṣadha-carita*, probably lived at the court of Kings *Vijayacandra* and *Jayacandra* of Kanauj in the second half of the 12th century.⁵⁾

1) On the chronology of the Senas cf. *Smith*, *Early History* 419, 431 ff.; *P. C. Barât* in *JRAS* 1930, 1 ff. and *H. C. Ray*, *Dynastic History of Northern India* I, 352 ff., 386 f. The earlier assumption, that the reign of *Lakṣmaṇasena* begins in 1119 A. D. is based on the erroneous notion that the date of the era associated with the name *Lakṣmaṇasena* coincided with the beginning of the reign of this king. On *Lakṣmaṇasena* cf. *Ray*, l. c., I, 375 ff.; *R. Pischel*, *Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena* (AGGW 39, 1893); *M. Chakravartī* in *JASB*, N. S. 2, 1906, 157 ff.; *C. V. Vaidya*, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India* II, 1926, p. 231 ff.; *Chintaharan Chakravartī* in *IHQ* 3, 1927, 186 ff., and *Dhirendra Nath Mukherji* in *IHQ* 10, 1934, 728 ff.

2) *Umāpati* or *Umapātidhara* wrote a *Candracūḍacarita*, which has not come down to us. Numerous verses by him are to be found in the anthologies; s. *Aufrecht* in *ZDMG* 40, 1886, 142 f.; *De*, *Padyāvalī* pp. 185 f., 226. Probably he is also the author of a poetical inscription of *Vijayasena*, the grandfather of *Lakṣmaṇasena*; s. *Kielhorn* in *Ep. Ind.* I, 305 ff.

3) *Dhoī* (or *Dhoyī*, or *Dhoyika*; with the title *Kavirāja*) has been treated by *M. Chakravartī* in *JASB.*, N. S. 2, 1906, 15 ff.

4) Cf. *Ray*, l. c., 353, 375. On *Halāyudha* cf. *Jogendra Chandra Ghosh* in *IC*, Jan. 1935, p. 503 ff.

5) That the name of the poet is *Śrīharṣa* and not *Harṣa* is evident from the "fact that in the colophons at the end of the cantos of the *Naiṣadha-carita* he calls himself *Śrīśrīharṣa*." In the same colophons he refers to his father *Hīra* and his mother *Māmalladevi* and mentions the titles of several works written by him, of which only the philosophical work *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhāḍya* has come down to us. His time has been determined by *Bühler* (*JBRAS* 10, 1871, 31 ff.; 11, 1874, 279 ff.) on the basis of the data in *Rājasekhara's*

It was our intention to give here only the most prominent names. That in addition to these there was an endless number of poets of lesser rank, and that later still, after the 12th century down to our own times more or less important poets have arisen, will be shown in detail in the following chapters dealing with the separate branches of poetic art.

THE ORNATE COURT EPIC.

The Ornate Court Epic of the classical and post-classical periods takes its themes mostly from the ancient legends of gods and heroes as contained in the two popular epics and in the Purāṇas. Thus Kālidāsa in his epic Raghuvamśa deals with the Rāma-legend, whilst the Purāṇic myths of gods furnished the theme for his epic Kumārasambhava.¹⁾

It is not only the Indians themselves who with one voice proclaim Kālidāsa to be their greatest poet.²⁾ In the West, too, there is only one opinion, namely, that as an epic, lyric and dramatic poet, Kālidāsa by far excels all other Indian ornate poets.³⁾ It is

Prabandbakośa. K. T. Telang (Ind. Ant. 2, 71 ff.; 3, 81 ff.) and Rama Prasad Chanda (Ind. Ant. 42, 1913, 83 f., 286 f.) doubt Rājasekhara's reliability, and are in favour of placing Śrīhaṛṣa in the 9th or 10th century. Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *ib.* p. 83 n.; Peterson, *Subh.* 136 f. and *Krishnacharya* 44 ff.; Kane, *Introd.* p. cxxiv f.; Bisheshwar Nath *Rev.* in *JRAS* 1932, 15 f.

¹⁾ On the critical questions relating to the two epics of Kālidāsa, s. *Jacobi* in *OC V*, Berlin 1881, II, 2, p. 133 ff.

²⁾ In the anthology *Haribārāvali* the following anonymous verse is found: "When formerly people used to count the poets, they gave the little finger to Kālidāsa, and even down to the present day the finger next to it is called 'the nameless' (anāmika), because no poet arose who could equal Kālidāsa." And the poet Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa quoted in the same anthology (and also in *Śārāgadharapaddhati* 8, 4) says, "Kālidāsa and others were poets: we, too, are poets: the same matter is found in the mountain and thea tom." To how great an extent Kālidāsa was looked upon as a model poet by the authors of works on poetics, is shown by *Hari Chand*, *Kālidāsa et l'art poétique*, Paris, 1917, p. 119ff.

³⁾ A literary appreciation of the art of Kālidāsa is given by Alfred Hillebrandt. *Kalidasa*, Ein Versuch zu seiner literarischen Würdigung, Breslau, 1921; cf. also *Keith*, *HSL*, 101 ff.

true that Kālidāsa fulfils all the requirements of the teachers of poetics ; he has a perfect mastery over the technique demanded by them in the use of the “word figures of speech” (śabda-alamkāra) and the “sense figures of speech” (artha-alamkāra), but he never exaggerates, he is always moderate, to him the poetic figures are not an end in themselves, but only a means to an end. His main purpose is to create a world of poetry and to produce the desired mood. The theorists are well aware of this, and the works of Kālidāsa always served them as models for their doctrines. What distinguishes Kālidāsa above all, is his metaphors and similes, with which he astonishes and delights the reader again and again, and on the other hand, his deep feeling for nature. Kālidāsa is a master of lyricism, he is always able to harmonise human moods with the moods of nature. Even in the epics and the dramas the poet misses no opportunity of weaving descriptions of nature into the narrative or the dramatic dialogue : descriptions of the awakening spring, the floating clouds which herald the approach of the rainy season, the dawning day and the rising sun, life in the forest and the hills, etc.,—everywhere establishing, in a delightful manner, a contact between human feelings and the living forces of nature. Alexander v. Humboldt¹⁾ in a survey of “The feeling for nature at various epochs and among various peoples” has already alluded to the feeling for nature among the Indians in general, and in Kālidāsa in particular, and cites a communication from Theodor Goldstücker, who writes to him : “Kālidāsa...is master of the art of describing the influence which nature exerts over the moods of lovers.”

Of the two epics of Kālidāsa, Kumārasambhava,²⁾ “The Birth of Kumāra,” is in all probability the earlier.

¹⁾ Kosmos, II, 1847, p. 38 ff., 114 ff. Cf. Hillebrandt, l.c., p. 126 ff. On comparisons in Kālidāsa s. Hillebrandt, l.c., p. 112 ff. and P. K. Gode, A Psychological Study of Kālidāsa's “Upamās,” in Proc. OC, I (Poona), Vol. II, p. 205 ff.

²⁾ Cantos I-VII edited and translated into Latin by A. F. Stenzler, London, 1838, Cantos I-VIII with Mallinātha's Comm. Ed., with English and Bengali Transl., by Sris

Kumāra is a name of the war-god Skanda, who, according to mythology, was begotten by the god Śiva, so that the gods might have a war-lord in their struggle against the demons. But Cantos I-VIII, which are the only authentic ones, merely relate how Umā, the daughter of Himālaya (hence generally called Pār-vatī, “daughter of the Mountain”), by her youthful beauty and her pious austerities, conquers the heart of the terrible god Śiva who practises rigorous asceticism, and marries him.

At Indra’s behest Kāma, the god of love, endeavours to disturb Śiva in his dreadful austerities. Accompanied by his friend Vasanta (Spring) and his consort Rati (Pleasure of Love) he sets to work. Not only men and gods are mightily affected by the awakening of spring (III, 25 ff.) but animals and trees too, III, 39 :

“Even the trees were tightly enfolded in the arms
Of beautiful women, the bent branches of the lianas,
Whose breasts, full clusters of blossoms, rose high,
Whose lips, delicate shoots, moved with voluptuous delight.”

Chandra *Chakravartī*, Dacca, 1901 ; Cantos I-V with lit. English Transl., by M. R. Kale and S. R. Dharadhara, Bombay, 1907 ; with Commentary of Mallinātha on Sargas I-VIII and of Sītārāma on VIII-XVII, ed. by V. L. S. Pansikar, NSP, 4th ed., 1908 ; Sargas I-VIII with two commentaries by *Gaṇapati Śāstrī* in TSS, Nos. 27, 32, 36, 1913-14. With Commentaries ed. by Kanakalāla Thakkura, Benares 1923 (Haridās Sanskrit Series No. 14). Cantos I-V with a Sanskrit Commentary (Bālabodhinī) by S. D. Gajendragadkar, Introd. translation, etc., by R. D. Karmarkar, Bombay, 1923. English translation of the first seven Cantos by R. T. H. Griffith (The Birth of the War-God, a Poem by Kālidāsa, 2nd Ed., London, 1879). German transl. of Cantos I-VIII in prose by O. Walter, Muenchen-Leipzig, 1913. Cantos III-V transl. into German by Hannah Neckel in Beitrage zur Sprach- und Voelkerkunde, Festschrift Hillebrandt, Halle, 1913. A French Translation by H. Fauche (Kālidāsa, Oeuvres complètes, 1860). Cantos VIII-XVII were first published in Pandit, Vol. I, 1866. In the same journal (I, 65 f., 128 ff., 141 f. ; III, 88) the question of the authenticity of these cantos was eagerly discussed by Indian scholars ; on this cf. Weber in ZDMG, 27, 174 ff., and Indische Streifen, 3, 217 ff., 241 ff. The story of the Kumārasambhava was acted in 18 tableaux by Indian women and children according to the translation by Griffith, at the Court Theatre in London on March 1912. (As. Quart. Rev., N. S., 1, 1913, p. 327.)

But at the sight of the ascetic Śiva, seated on a tiger-skin, motionless, absorbed in deep meditation, his head wound around with snakes, a rosary hanging from his ear, and covered with a black antelope skin, and his eyes fixed on his nose,—“like a cloud which is not moved by the rain, like a pond in which no wave arises, like a lamp in a windless place” (III, 48)—Kāma almost despairs of success. Then Umā appears in all her glorious beauty, and worships Śiva. At this favourable moment the god of love takes aim at Śiva with his arrow. But Śiva conquers his awakening love, perceives Kāma and burns him with a flash of lightning from his third eye, which he has on his forehead. Umā returns home despondent. Canto IV contains the sad lament of Rati over her husband who has been burnt to ashes.¹⁾ But Umā, clothed in a garment of bark, gives herself up to severe austerities. Her austerities and her pious devotion at last touch the heart of Śiva. Their courtship and marriage are just like those of human beings. Śiva summons the seven Ṛṣis and Arundhatī. He receives the latter with as much veneration as the holy seers. VI, 12:

“With equal veneration the Lord looked
On h e r, as on the holy men.
Whether woman or man, to the good it matters not,
For it is the deed alone, which the good one honours.”

The sight of Arundhatī, the prototype of the faithful wife, accentuates Śiva's longing for a wife. So he asks them to press his suit with the daughter of the Mountain, which they willingly do. Arundhatī accompanies the Ṛṣis, for “women are generally cleverer in business of this kind” (VI, 32). And at the wedding described in Canto VII, all the rites and ceremonies are performed in due course as at a wedding of human beings. And when the bridegroom makes his entry into the capital of the Mountain King, the women of the city hasten to the windows to see the divine one and to admire the bridal couple.²⁾

In Canto VIII there follows the description of the joys of love of the newly-wed divine couple, which, while revealing an accurate knowledge of

1) Transl. into German verse by Rückert ; s. Rückert-Nachlese, II, 478 ff.

2) Here (VII, 56-60) the poet has borrowed from Aśvaghoṣa the description of the scene in the Buddhacarita, III, 13-24 (s. above, II, 261). The image of the lotus faces of the women, which look as if real lotus flowers had been fastened to the houses (Buddhacar, III, 19) has been taken bodily over into the Kumāras. (VII, 62). But, for the rest, Kālidāsa is quite independent in the description of the details. The fact that the scene recurs almost word for word in Raghuvamśa (VII, 5-16) shows that the poet liked it particularly.

the Kāmasāstra, allows us, in the fire of its sensuousness, in the wealth of its imagery, and in the forcefulness of its language, to recognise a genuine poem of Kālidāsa's. The poet describes how at first the divine wife is full of shame and modesty, but afterwards surrenders herself to her beloved without reserve. VIII. 14:

"And now she too embraced the dearly loved one,
When he tenderly pressed her to his breast,
Neither did she refuse him her lips,
When he desired to kiss them,
And only weakly resisted the hand
That lustfully grasped her girdle."

Once Siva is lying on a rock on the wooded mountain just as the sun is setting. Then he describes to his beloved, who is leaning on his breast, the beauties of the sunset and the approaching night in images which we are accustomed to find only in Kālidāsa. VIII. 45:

"Red and yellow and brown gleam the tips of yonder clouds,
As if the twilight with its rarest colours,
Itself had painted and adorned them, only because it knew
That you, curly-haired beauty, would one day gaze on them."

Only to Kālidāsa could the red glow of evening appear like a stream of liquid red chalk, on the one bank of which stand Tamāla trees (whose bark is a deep black) (VIII, 53). And when the west, in which the sinking red light of evening is only a red streak, is compared to a battle-field on which a blood-stained curved sword has been lying (VIII, 54), and when the moon driving away the darkness, strokes back the dark hair of his beloved, the Night, and the latter, while her beloved kisses her face, closes her eyes, the night lotuses, for delight (VIII, 63),—these are true Kālidāsian images. Canto VIII concludes with a verse telling us that Siva spent 150 seasons in continuous enjoyment of love like a single night but that his desire for love was not extinguished, any more than the fire beneath the waters of the ocean is extinguished.¹⁾

¹⁾ The authenticity of Canto VIII has been doubted, but wrongly. The reason for its being absent in many manuscripts and (hence also in the earliest editions) is that on religious grounds, and not, as might be imagined, on moral grounds, objection was taken to the all too sensual description of the pleasures of love of the exalted divine couple. The teachers of poetics were divided in their opinion as to whether it was fitting to describe such scenes with relation to exalted deities. Ānandavardhana (Dhvanyāloka, III, 6, p. 137) is

Probably only a few verses have been lost, or perhaps one canto, in which the birth of Kumāra was depicted briefly and discreetly. For Kālidāsa would scarcely have dealt with a subject so very unsuited to poetic presentation as the Purāṇic myth of the birth of the war-god at such length as the very much later author of the surely spurious Cantos IX-XVII has done. Not only from their contents, but from their language too, these cantos can easily be recognised as a later fabrication.¹⁾

✓ Kālidāsa's second great epic is *Raghuvamśa*,²⁾ "The Story of Rāma's Line," in which the poet sings of the life and deeds of Rāma, his ancestors and his descendants. The first nine cantos treat of the four immediate predecessors of Rāma : Dilīpa, Raghu,

of opinion that it depends upon the talent of the poet, and himself refers to Canto VIII of the Kumārasambhava. Mammaṭa (Kāvyaaprakāśa, VII) holds a different view, and says that it would be just as unsuitable as if one were to describe such love-scenes with reference to one's own parents. Vāmana cites examples from this Canto in two passages of his Poetics (4, 3, 33 and 5, 2, 25).

¹⁾ Cf. Keith, HSL, 89 f. As Mallinātha wrote a commentary only on Cantos I-VIII, he cannot have recognised Cantos IX-XVII as the work of Kālidāsa; or, which I think more probable, they were added only after his time. The earlier Āruṇagirinātha (s. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, TSS, 37, Preface) also commented only on 8 Sargas. The great similarity between the Kumārasambhava and the Śivarahasya of the Saṅkara-Saṃhitā of the Skanda-Purāṇa should probably be explained by assuming that Kumāras I-VIII were used by the author of the Śivarahasya, whilst the latter work was in its turn the source of the spurious cantos of the Kumārasambhava. Cf. Weber in ZDMG, 27, 179, 190ff., and Pandit, Vol. III, 19ff., 85ff. In the 14th century the Jain Jayasēkhara wrote another epic Kumārasambhava (s. Peterson, 3, Rep., Extr., 251 ff.). Udbhaṭa, too, had composed a Kumārasambhava, from which he cites verses in his manual on poetics Alampkārasamgraha.

²⁾ Text with Latin translation edited by A. F. Stenzler, London, 1832. Among the Indian editions, that by Shankar P. Pandit in BSS, 1869-1874, with Mallinātha's Commentary, and that by G. R. Nandargikar (3rd. ed. Bombay, 1897) with Mallinātha's Commentary, numerous explanatory notes and a complete English translation in prose, is to be recommended. English translation by P. de Lacy Johnstone, London, 1902. Book I of the Raghuvamśa translated in verse by J. Murray Mitchell in JBRAS, No. VI, Oct., 1843, p. 308 ff. Extracts translated by Ralph T. H. Griffith, Idylls from the Sanskrit, Allahabad, 1912. There is a beautiful, though very free and abridged, translation in German verse by Ad. Fr. Graf von Schack, Orient und Occident, III, Stuttgart, 1890. There is a poetical German translation of the first 31 verses by E. Leumann in Festchrift Windisch, p. 43 ff., and a complete German prose translation by O. Walter, Muenchen-Leipzig, 1914.

Aja and Daśaratha, and in Cantos X-XV the life and destinies of Rāma are sung in fair agreement with the Rāmāyaṇa. Neither does the poet try to conceal the fact that Vālmīki's great epic was his model.¹ Moreover Kālidāsa has not entered into rivalry with Vālmīki, but has treated the actual Rāma-legend very briefly, so that the cantos devoted to it are scarcely more than a short summary of the seven books of the Rāmāyaṇa. On the other hand, it is in the portions which afforded him more scope for originality, that he displayed the whole wealth of his poetic art, especially in the Cantos devoted to Raghu and Aja.

Nearly all the rulers descended from the Sun, of whom Kālidāsa has sung, are model kings. All of them, as we read in I, 8, devoted themselves in their childhood to the study of the sciences, strove in their youth after worldly successes, and withdrew into the forest in their old age as pious hermits, in order to devote themselves to meditations. As rulers they extend the limits of their realm, and rule justly and wisely for the good of their subjects. They are very staunch in their Brahmanical belief, faithfully perform all the religious ceremonies, and the priest is held in the highest esteem. Foremost among these model kings is Dilipa, the grandson of the sun-god, of whom we are told (I, 18):

“ Merely for the benefit of his subjects
Did he collect the tax from them :
The sun, too, only raises the water on high,
To bestow it a'resh a thousand-fold.”

After Dilipa has retired into the forest, his son Raghu assumes the reins of government. His illustrious campaigns for the conquest of the world (digvijaya) are described in detail. All his foes bow before him, so that finally he is able to offer the “all-conqueror-sacrifice.” He is succeeded by his son Aja, over whose personal destiny the poet lingers with the greatest sympathy. He weds Indumatī, daughter of King Bhoja. The festive self-choice of a husband (svayamvara) is graphically described. It

¹ Vālmīki is to Kālidāsa a Rṣi of prehistoric times, a contemporary of the hero Rāma and the “first poet” (XV, 41). On the Rāmāyaṇa as source of Kālidāsa, s. Hillebrandt, *Kalidasa*, p. 95f., 98ff. With Gawronski, Hillebrandt, l. c., p. 103, believes that Hariṣeṇa's description of the triumphal campaign of Samudragupta (in the inscription mentioned above, p. 13) also served Kālidāsa as prototype. I consider this as very doubtful.

is a brilliant ceremonial gathering. After the bards have proclaimed the genealogies of the princes who are present, Indumatī appears in bridal array. All hearts go out to her, each one hopes that her choice will fall on him. Led by the female door-keeper of the women's palace, the princess goes round the circle of princes. But not one of them pleases her, and

“ Like a watch-tower on the king's highway,
When the pale glimmer of a lamp
Glides past it at night,
Was each one of the princes, who turned pale
When Indumatī stepped past him
And not noticing him, went on.” ¹⁾

It is not until she comes to Aja that her heart is touched, and after some maidenly modesty, she throws the garland over his shoulder, and thus chooses him as her consort. After the wedding, King Bhoja dismisses the other princes, who leave gifts, and depart with pleasant faces, beneath which their feelings of disappointment are concealed “ like limpid lakes, at the bottom of which crocodiles are concealed ” (VII, 30). On the way home, however, the despised kings fall upon Aja, and there is a bloody battle, the description of which gives the poet an opportunity to introduce many a splendid picture. Thus the battlefield, where the heads of the fallen foes are lying around like fruits, and the helmets which have rolled down like drinking-goblets, and where streams of blood are flowing, appears to him like the banquet-hall of the god of death (VII, 46). In beautiful verses the poet then describes the ideal reign of Aja, after he was anointed king, and his happy family life, which was crowned by the birth of a son, Daśaratha. But one day the king was enjoying himself with his queen in the park, when suddenly a wreath of heavenly flowers fell down through the air between the queen's breasts, and she sank down dead. The touching lament of the king for his beloved consort (VIII, 44-60) together with the previous description of Indumatī's flowery death, and the story of how Aja dies of a broken heart, shortly after it, is one of the gems of Indian ornate poetry, which has long since found a place in German

¹⁾ The comparison contained in this verse (VI, 67, between Indumatī and the glimmer of a lamp (dīpaśikhā) pleased the Indian art critics so much that, on account of this image, they called the poet “ Dīpaśikhā-Kālidāsa (s. *Peterson*, OC, VI, Leyden, 1883 ; III, 2, 339 ff.).

literature also, thanks to the talent of Friedrich Rückert as a translator.¹⁾ We cite here only a few verses of this pathetic lament :

41. " Full of deep tenderness he held the beautiful woman, who, lifeless, resembled a lute which is to be re-strung, in his accustomed lap.
43. And he lamented aloud in a voice suffocated by tears, forgetting his innate firmness : Even red-hot iron softens, then what shall one say of human souls ?
44. If even flowers can steal away life by touching the body, ah, then what other thing cannot become the instrument of a menacing fate !
45. Or perhaps the ender of life can kill the soft only by what is soft. Thus recently I saw a cluster of lotus blossoms wither away through hoarfrost dropping on them.
52. Not even in thought have I ever been unkind to you. Why do you leave me ? Truly, only in name am I the lord (the husband) of the earth, since all my love is centred on you alone.
55. Your face with the flowing locks and the silent mouth grieves me : It is like the lotus which has gone to sleep in the night, in whose heart the bee has ceased humming.
67. You were to me wife, counsellor, close friend, beloved pupil in the beautiful arts. Say, what has pitiless death not taken from me, in stealing you."

The only reason why he does not ascend the funeral pyre with his wife, is that it should not be said :

" He died of grief for a woman,
He a prince ! "

His teacher can give him only cold comfort ; and it is only for his son that he lives on. As soon as the latter was able to take over the duties of government, Aja ended his life by voluntary starvation, so as to be re-united to his beloved in heaven.

The following cantos (IX-XV) keep very closely to the Rāmāyaṇa as to contents. Kālidāsa's art is here mainly limited to the descriptions. The descendants of Rāma are only briefly treated in Cantos XVI-XVIII. But they, too, are all model kings.

¹⁾ "Ajas und Indumatī" in "Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände," 1833, p. 157 f., 162 ff (also in Rückert-Nachlese, I, 285 ff.).

However, King Agnivarṇa, who is sung in Canto XIX, is a notable exception. This ruler attended only for a short time to the duties of government, which he soon entrusted entirely to his ministers, while he devoted himself and his youth to women. Day and night he revelled in voluptuousness and pleasures, without troubling himself about his subjects. If his subjects insisted on seeing him, he showed himself to them by—thrusting a leg out of the palace window! Like a butterfly he flutters from flower to flower. He is insatiable in the enjoyment of love. Each minute when he was not taking delight in beautiful women he considered as a minute wasted.¹⁾ But, through his licentious mode of living he ruined his health. Consumption ended his life prematurely, even before a son was born to him. But his first queen was pregnant; the ministers had her consecrated as ruler—the heat of the tears which the widow wept for her dead husband was extinguished by the water of coronation poured over her from golden jugs—and she assumed the reins of government for her unborn child, which was concealed in her womb like the seeds in the womb of the earth, and whose birth was anxiously expected by the subjects.

With this ends Canto XIX, but it is most improbable that the whole poem ended here. If at least the birth of the prince were reported,²⁾ we could say that there was a satisfactory ending. But as we have the text, not only does the poet leave us in the dark as to the fate of Agnivarṇa's successor, but the epic ends really tragically, which is quite against the habit of Indian poets. And the benediction, with which Indian poems

1) It seems as though, in this canto, it was Kālidāsa's main concern to show his knowledge of the science of love, the Kāma-Sāstra. For this reason I am unable to wax so enthusiastic over this canto as J. J. Meyer (Translation of the Daśakumāracarita, Introduction, p. 197 note), who says: "Canto XIX of the Raghuvamśa affords an excellent picture, executed with classical cheerfulness and Indian passionateness, of an Indian Don Juan in his character of a splendid rogue and epicurean, inspired by a witty grace. The canto is among the most admirable passages in the whole work so rich in brilliant passages, the more so as its end is tragic." A translation of XIX, 1-57, is given by R. Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien*, Berlin, 1904, p. 134 ff. As a contrast to the rapturous opinion of J. J. Meyer, Hillebrandt, *Kalidasa*, p. 42 f., 157, considers this particular canto so insipid that he denies its being the work of Kālidāsa. He pronounces both Cantos XVIII and XIX to be spurious, but for this there is no sufficient reason.

2) As is the case in v. Schack's translation, against the text.

usually end, is lacking. It is difficult to know whether several cantos or only a few verses have got lost ; both are possible.¹⁾

That the two epics of Kālidāsa belong to the most famous products of ornate court poetry is evidenced not only by the frequent references to them in the works on poetics, but also by the numerous commentaries which exist on each of the two works. On the Kumārasambhava there are over 20, on the Raghuvamśa there are no less than 33 different commentaries.²⁾ The ornate epics of Kālidāsa are distinguished from all later ornate epics by the simplicity of the language and the avoidance of exaggerated artificialities.

Among the many works wrongly attributed to Kālidāsa there is the Prākṛit epic Rāvaṇavahā (" the Killing of Rāvaṇa ") or Setubandha (" The Building of the Bridge "),³⁾ which in ornate style treats the Rāma legend from the setting forth to win back Sītā down to the death of Rāvaṇa. The author of the work is probably Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka family, a grandson of Candragupta II, or one of his court-poets.⁴⁾ Daṇḍin

1) Viṭṭhalaśāstrin assured us in the year 1866 that the descendants of Kālidāsa in Dhārā still now possess 26 cantos of the Raghuvamśa (Pandit, Vol. I, p. 141) whilst Shankar P. Pandit in the year 1874 (Raghuvamśa Ed., Preface, p. 15) had heard that some one in Ujjain had Cantos XX-XXV of the Raghuvamśa. Hitherto, however, these cantos, which are said to be in existence, have not been published. Neither does any of the commentaries know more than nineteen cantos.

2) Cf. Aufrecht CC, pp. 110, 486f. and Nandargikar, Raghuvamśa Ed., Preface, p. 26.

3) Ed. in Prākṛit and German by S. Goldschmidt; with a word-index by Paul Goldschmidt and the editor, Strassburg 1880-1884. Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud., 18, 413 ff., 447 ff. Ed. with the commentary of Rāmadāsa in Km., 47, 1895.

4) Pravarasena is mentioned as the author of the Setubandha in Bāṇa's Harṣacarita, introductory verse 15, and in Kṣemendra's Aucityavicāracarcā, 16 (in Km., Part I, p. 127 and 135). Formerly the poet was identified with Pravarasena II of Kashmir (thus still Keith, HSL, 97). It was even supposed that the poem was composed by Kālidāsa on the occasion of the construction of the boat-bridge over the Vitastā (Jhelum) by Pravarasena II (s. Rājatarāṅgiṇī, III, 354). Cf. F. Max Müller, India what can it teach us? London 1883, p. 314 f.; P. Peterson, Kādambarī Ed., Introd., p. 77 ff.; S. Lévi, Théâtre Indien, App., p. 58; Konow, Karpūramañjarī in HOS, Vol. 4, p. 194f. F. G. Petersen (JRAS, 1926, p. 725 f.) considers the statement of Rāmadāsa (on I, 9) that Kālidāsa wrote the poem for Pravarasena to be correct. The colophon at the end (Km. ed.) describes it as the joint

(Kāvya-darśa, I, 34) cites Setubandha as an example of a work written in Māhārāṣṭrī, the most exquisite Prākṛit dialect. Its significance certainly lies more on the linguistic side.¹ The style is extremely bombastic with far-fetched metaphors, plays on words, alliterations and long compounds often taking up entire lines. With all its artificiality and affectation in style and language, which do, it is true, reveal extraordinary skill, we are bound to admit that some passages evince real poetic force, such as for instance the passage where Rāma threatens the ocean, *e.g.*, V. 34 :

“ And now, hit by the arrow, the Ocean rears roaring,
Shaking its mane of hell-flames, as a lion,
Wakened by the arrow from peaceful slumber, rears roaring,
And furious with rage shakes his bushy mane.”

We ask ourselves why such an epic was written in Prākṛit. It is the same style, the same artificiality as in the Sanskrit epics, and it is scarcely to be supposed that there was any public for these poems other than that which existed for the poems written in Sanskrit. More than any Sanskrit epic, it presupposes not only a cultured, but indeed a very learned public. A possible explanation is that Sanskrit was less esteemed than Prākṛit at the court of Pravarasena. It is more likely, however, that the poet merely wished to show that even in Prākṛit the difficulties of the language could be overcome and all the tricks of Kāvya accomplished. Nevertheless, the work enjoyed a certain popularity, as is proved by the existence of three different recensions of the text. Indeed, even the emperor Akbar (1556-1605) took an interest in this work. At his command Rāmadāsa wrote his commentary (1596), and at the instance of Akbar's son Jehāngir a Sanskrit version of this poem was written.

work of Pravarasena and Kālidāsa. S. also S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in Asutosh Mem. Vol., p. 152 f. It is not probable that a Māhārāṣṭrī poem should have been written in Kashmir of all places.

1) Cf. Pischel in GGA, 1880, 321 ff. and Grammatik der Prākṛit Sprachen, p. 12.

Another work which is often attributed to Kālidāsa, but which on grounds of its style, if on no other, cannot belong to the great poet, is the *Nalodaya*.¹⁾ Such artificial metres, such stilted rhymes, such tricks of the fully developed Kāvya style as this poem presents, are never to be found in Kālidāsa. The poem tells in four cantos the story of Nala and Damayantī, with which we are so familiar, “in so artificial a form that to turn an Iliad into sonnets would be child’s play compared to it.”²⁾ The poet has a particular weakness for medial rhymes (yamaka) and alliteration. Ravideva, son of Nārāyaṇa, who also wrote a commentary on his poem, is named in some manuscripts as the author of the *Nalodaya*.³⁾ Ravideva is also the author of a short poem of 20 stanzas, *Kāvya-rākṣasa* or *Rākṣasa-kāvya*,⁴⁾ on which he also wrote a commentary,—a poem written in the same style, and also occasionally attributed to Kālidāsa. In one commentary, however, Vāsudeva, the son of Ravi, is mentioned as the author of the *Nalodaya*.⁵⁾ This Vāsudeva is also mentioned as the author of three other poems with medial rhymes (yamaka-kāvyas), the *Tripuradahana*, the *Śaurikathodaya* and the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*.⁶⁾ The last-named poem, which deals

1) *Nalodaya*, Sanscritum carmen Calidaso adscriptum una cum Pradschnacari Mithilensis scholiis ed. latina interpretatione.....instruxit F. Benary. Berolini, 1830. *Nalodaya*, accompanied by a metrical translation by W. Yates, Calcutta, 1814. Rendered into German by Ad. Fr. Graf von Schack, *Stimmen vom Ganges* (Stuttgart, 1877), pp. 219-80.

2) Friedrich Rückert in *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, 1829, p. 536. The metrics and art of rhyming of the *Nalodaya* have been discussed by Rückert, *ib.*, p. 536 ff. and a passage from Canto II translated, *ib.*, 1831, No. 1 (also in Rückert-Nachlese, I, 253 ff.). Cf. also W. Yates in *As. Researches*, 20, 1836, p. 135 ff.

3) Cf. Peterson, 3 Reports, pp. 2), 331 ff.; Report, IV, p. cv; Bhandarkar, Report, 1883-84, p. 16; Aufrecht, CC, II, 60; III, App., p. 335; R. Pischel in *ZDMG*, 56, 1902 626; 58, 904, 244.

4) Ed. by A. Hofer, *Sanskrit-Lesebuch*, Berlin, 1849, p. 86 ff. and by K. P. Parab, Bombay, 1900; explained and translated into Italian by F. Belloni-Filippi in *GSAT*, 19, 1906, 83 ff.; cf. Krishnamacharya, p. 116 f.; Haraprasāda Sāstrī, Cat. VII, Nos. 5023-24.

5) Cf. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar in *JRAS*, 1925, 263 ff.

6) Edited with Rājānaka Ratnakarṇṭha’s Commentary in *Km.*, 60, 1897. The title is also Pārthakathā. Fra Paolini da S. Bartolammeo (see above, I, p. 9) knew this poem, but considered it as a part of the *Mahābhārata*; s. Th. Zachariae in *ZII*, 4, 1926, 223 ff.

with the story of the Mahābhārata from Draupadī's Svayamvara to the death of Duryodhana, was written under a King Kulaśekhara of Kerala, the Nalodaya and the other two poems under Rāma, who received the name Rājāditya at his coronation and was probably Kulaśekhara's successor.¹⁾

The fame of Kālidāsa penetrated as far as Ceylon and exerted a profound influence over Singhalese literature there. This fact is most likely the basis of the tradition according to which Kālidāsa is said to have visited Ceylon and lived in close friendship with the poet and king Kumāradāsa (517-526).²⁾ To this Kumāradāsa the epic Jānakīharaṇa, "The Stealing of the Daughter of Janaka" is attributed.³⁾ In close imitation of Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa, the poem deals with the story of Rāma down to the abduction of Sītā. The poet, whether he was really a king of Ceylon, or what is more likely, some Indian poet

1) The name Kulaśekhara occurs so frequently in Kerala that it is difficult to date him with any degree of certainty. A. S. Ramanath Ayyar, l.c., identifies him with the author of the Mukundamālā, who lived in the first half of the 9th century. K. Rāma Pisharoti (IHQ, 7, 1931, 327 f.) separates him from the last-named, and is in favour of placing him in the middle of the 8th century. Zachariae, l.c., 226 f., takes the Kulaśekhara who is known to us from inscriptions, and who was crowned king in 1312-1313, as Vāsudeva's patron. Cf. F. Kielhorn in Ep. Ind. 4, 1896-97, p. 145 ff.; E. Hultzsch in Ep. Ind., 2, p. 8, and JRAS, 1909, p. 669.

2) Cf. above, p. 17, and W. Geiger, Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen (Grundriss, I, 10), p. 3 f.

3) For a long time the poem was known only in the so-called "Sanna," a Singhalese word-for-word paraphrase of the original. This contains only 15 of the 20 cantos of the original: Jānakīharaṇa restored and edited with the revised "Sanna" by K. Dharmārāma Sthavira, Pāliyaḡoḡa, Ceylon, 1891; edited (reconstructed from the Sanna) by Haridāsa Sāstrī and published by Kālipada Bandyopādhyāya, Calcutta, 1893. On the basis of South Indian MSS. Cantos I-X have been edited by G. R. Nandargikar, Bombay, 1907; Cantos I-V with a Sanskrit Comm. by N. V. Nigudkar and English Notes and Transl. by K. M. Joglekar, Bombay, 1908. There is a complete MS. (20 cantos) in the library of the London School of Oriental Studies, from which Canto XVI has been edited by L. D. Barnett in BSOS, IV, Part II, 1926, 285 ff. Cf. Th. Zachariae in Bezz. Beitr., 5, 1880, p. 52 and GGA, 1887, p. 95; Peterson in JBRAS, 17, 1889, 57 ff, and Subh., 24 f.; E. Leumann in WZKM, 7, 1893, 226 ff.; F. W. Thomas in JRAS, 1901, 253 ff., and Kav., 31 ff.; G. R. Nandargikar, Kumāradāsa and his place in Sanskrit Literature, Poona, 1908; Keith in JRAS, 1901, 578 ff., and HSL, 119 ff.

Kumāradāsa of the 7th century A.D.,¹⁾ was at all events very keen on imitating Kālidāsa,²⁾ though without being able to hold a candle to him. Though his style is less artificial than that of Māgha and more akin to that of Kālidāsa, he likes to show his erudition by the use of rare words and uncommon grammatical forms. Rājasekhara mentions Kumāradāsa as one of the poets who were blind from birth,³⁾ and in a verse with double meaning,⁴⁾ he praises him in the words: "None but the poet Kumāradāsa is capable of singing the rape of Jānakī (Jānakīharaṇam), in spite of there being the Raghuvaṃśa; none but Rāvaṇa is capable of achieving the rape of Jānakī, as long as the race of Raghu still exists." The fact that verses by him are quoted in anthologies, shows at all events that he enjoyed a certain reputation as a poet.

In the Aihole inscription (634 A.D.) there is mention beside Kālidāsa of a famous poet B h ā r a v i, who also is always mentioned in the Indian manuals of poetics among the greatest poets. His epic *Kirātārjunīya*⁵⁾ is unanimously considered by Indians as among the best works of classical Sanskrit poetry. It counts

1) Probably he knew the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*, which was written about 650 A.D., whilst he was already known to Vāmana (about 800 A.D.). If Māgha already knew him, which is not improbable, then his time would be the second half of the 7th century.

2) Cf. O. Walter, *Uebereinstimmungen in Gedanken, Vergleichen und Wendungen bei indischen Kunstdichtern*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 18 ff.

3) *Kāvyaśāstra*, GOS Ed., p. 12. This would be a further argument against his having been a king.

4) In Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvali*, s. Peterson. Subh., p. 25; F. W. Thomas in JRAS, 1901, p. 253.

5) Ed. with Mallinātha's commentary in NSP, 6th Ed., 1907; Cantos I-III with Mallinātha's Comm., transl., etc., by M. R. Kale, Bombay, 1915; in Kashi Sanskrit Series, 1929; Sargas I-III with the comm. Śabdarthadīpikā of Citrabhānu in TSS, 63, 1918; with the commentaries of Devarājayaśvan and Vidyānāthava ed. in COJ, I and II, 1934; Cantos I-III transl. into English by P. N. Patankar, Benares, 1907; the first two cantos transl. into German by C. Schütz, Bielefeld, 1815; a complete German transl. by C. Cappeller in HOS, Vol. 15, 1912 (Bibliography of the editions, translations, etc., by August Blau, p. xxii ff., Ueber die Metrik des Bhāravi, p. 103 ff.). Cf. F. J. Thomas in JRAS, 1917, 669 ff. That Bhāravi was influenced by Kālidāsa, is shown by Walter, l.c., p. 24 ff. The *Kirātārjunīya* is quoted in the *Kāśikā*, s. Kielhorn in Ind. Ant., 14, 327.

as one of the six model epics (*mahākāvya*) to which in addition to Kālidāsa's two epics Māgha's Śīsupālavadhā, the Bhaṭṭikāvya and Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhacarita belong. The subject-matter of the 18 cantos of the epic is the story of the fight of the hero Arjuna with the god Śiva, who has assumed the form of a Kirāta.¹⁾ The first three cantos and Cantos XII-XVIII follow the Mahābhārata narrative fairly closely, whilst Cantos IV-XI are mainly the poet's own invention. But the narrative is of no consequence here. The real importance of the poem lies in the descriptions woven into the narrative, the often splendid images and similes, and the skill in the handling of the language, which reaches its zenith specially in Canto XV. Here, for instance, we find verses in which only certain consonants occur (thus XV, 5 only *s*, *y*, *b* and *ś*, or XV, 14, where no consonant except *n* occurs), verses in which the two halves of the verse have the same syllables, but a different meaning, or in which every quarter of a verse read backwards gives the same wording as when read from left to right, or the like. Whilst these verbal gymnastics do not inspire us with admiration any more than do the tricks of an acrobat, yet among the descriptions of nature we do come across many a splendid image revealing the true poet. I refer to the beautiful description of autumn in Canto IV, to the delightful bathing scene in Canto VIII,²⁾ and the description of the sunset and night in Canto IX. There we find charming images, for instance when the poet says that the sun with his red body sinks intoxicated into the earth, after having drunk his fill of the honey-drink of the lotus of day with his ray-hands (IX, 3), or when he compares the rising moon to a silver bowl which night, like a beautiful woman, brings, in order to anoint the god of love as king (IX, 32). It is true that the rarest and the most far-fetched

¹⁾ Mahābhārata, 3, 39 f.; see above, I, p. 347 f.

²⁾ VIII, 27 ff., transl. by Rückert in *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftl. Kritik*, 1831, p. 15 f. (also in Rückert *Nachlese*, I, 265 ff.).

similes are the most pleasing to the Indian Pandits. For this reason they have given this poet the epithet "Sunshade-Bhāravi," because he once compared the pollen of the lotus stirred up from a cluster of lotuses by stormy winds to the goddess Lakṣmī reflecting her image in a golden sunshade.¹⁾

The Kirātārjunīya was the model for Māgha's epic Śiśupālavadhā²⁾ which is also esteemed by the Indians as one of their outstanding epic poems. In all arts and artificialities of the Kāvya, however, Māgha seeks to outdo his prototype Bhāravi.³⁾ Like Bhāravi in Canto IV of the Kirātārjunīya, Māgha seeks to show his skill in metrics in Canto IV of the Śiśupālavadhā. But whilst Bhāravi uses only 19 different kinds of metre, Māgha makes use of 23. Just as Canto XV of the Kirātārjunīya, which is devoted to the description of the fight, excels most in artificialities and all kinds of tricks with sounds and words, in the same way Māgha accomplishes similar but still more difficult feats in Canto XIX, which is likewise devoted to the description of a fight. Here we find verses which when read backwards give a second meaning, whose syllables can be read in various directions to form all manner of figures (a zigzag, a circle, etc.) and verses in which only two or three definite consonants occur, e.g., such an atrocious verse as XIX, 3 ;

jajaujojājijijjāji tam tato'titatātītut |
bhābho' bhībhābhībhūbhābhūrārārīrarīrarāḥ ||

If it was Bhāravi's endeavour to glorify Śiva, Māgha pursues the religious quest of glorifying Viṣṇu. His theme is also

1) V, 39. Cf. Peterson, OC, VI, Leyden, III, 2, 339 ff.

2) Ed. with Mallinātha's commentary in NSP, 5th Ed., Bombay, 1910. German translation (in prose) of Cantos I-XI by C. Schütz, Bielefeld, 1843. Cantos III and IV translated into English by P. N. Patankar, Benares, 1907; the first four cantos and the last, beginning from XII, 27 have been translated into German in abridged form by C. Cappeller, Bālamāgha, Māgha's Śiśupālavadhā im Auszug bearbeitet, Stuttgart, 1915. Complete German translation according to the commentaries of Vallabhadeva and Mallinātha by E. Hultsch, Leipzig, 1926.

3) Cf. Jacobi in WZKM, 3, 1889, 121 ff., 141 ff. E. Hultsch in ZDMG, 72, 1918, p. 147 f., shows that he also used the Bhaṭṭikāvya.

taken from the Mahābhārata, namely the section in which Kṛṣṇa kills Śiśupāla." But the poet is not at all particular about the legend. The chief thing for him is the descriptions and scenes, which move preferably in the realm of erotics, though the theme itself does not give the slightest occasion for erotics. A good half of the epic consisting of twenty cantos has nothing to do with the actual legend.

Thus Canto II gives the poet an opportunity to show his knowledge of the Nītiśāstra, the manual of politics. Here we find many good aphorisms, *e.g.*, II, 44:

" Usually patience is a man's adornment, as modesty is a woman's;—
But after an insult, bravery beseems a man,
As shamelessness beseems a woman in the enjoyment of love."

Or II, 86:

" The wise man does not depend on the decree of fate,
Neither does he rely only on his own strength ;
The prudent one is mindful of both,
As the good poet is mindful of both words and meaning."

In his similes Māgha strives to be as original as possible. Thus he compares (II, 18) the drops of sweat on the body of Balarāma burning red from hatred towards the foe, to stars breaking forth in the red sky of evening. But the Indian art critics called the poet " Bell-Māgha," ²⁾ because they especially admired the image (IV, 20) where Māgha compares a hill on one side of which the sun is setting whilst on the other the moon is climbing up the sky, to an elephant from whose back two bells are hanging. Māgha is also a past master in the art of using plays on words, and ambiguities. In Canto XVI a messenger from Śiśupāla enters and brings Kṛṣṇa an intentionally ambiguous message, the same verses containing at the same time a polite humble excuse and an impertinent declaration of war.

Māgha's chief strength lies, however, in the field of erotics. In any case Indian poets cannot describe a city without depicting the beauty of the women living in it in glowing colours, and the

¹⁾ Mahābhār., II, 41-45; s. above, I, 341.

²⁾ Ghaṭṭāmāgha; s. Peterson, OC, Leyden, III, 2, 339 ff. On this kind of epithet of various poets see above, p. 43, f.-n. and Mrs. Malati Sen in COJ, I, 58 ff. Some poets are known only by such names, *i. e.*, p. 61 ff.

description of the seasons, of the evening, or of the day-break only serves them as an occasion for describing the doings of lovers. Our poet drives all this to extremities.

When he describes an army on the march and a military camp (Canto V) he does not forget to describe the progress of the queens carried in chairs and the harem women riding on horses and asses, and to give us a sketch of the women who have fallen asleep in their tents from weariness and the courtesans who are making their toilet in order to receive the men. We follow not only the warriors and the elephants to their bath, but the women too, and the poet describes how "the water collects in the deep navel ponds of the women and is held up by the mighty bridges of their hips, how it then, making delightful music, glides over the banks of the firm breasts and flows slowly on" (V, 29). To us this kind of thing may appear insipid, but it must have given the Indian readers and hearers great pleasure. Likewise it may seem far-fetched to us when in Canto VI all the six seasons of the year enter, one after another, in the form of beautiful women, to delight Viṣṇu; but it gives the poet another opportunity of showing his art in erotic descriptions. It may seem very out of place to us when it is related in the following cantos that the Yādavas, instead of going to battle, walk about with lovely women in the forest and bathe with them in the pond. But the poet needs the background of forest and pond to sketch erotic pictures, and to rave again and again about the thighs of the lovely women, which are as stout as elephants' trunks, about their heavy hips, their firm breasts, which resemble full pitchers and at the same time frisking colts (VII, 73), etc. When at last (at the end of Canto VIII) the hot-rayed sun-god saw how the Yādavas shone in resplendent beauty through their bathing in the pond, then he too desired to dip into the waves of the western ocean. And that gives the desired occasion for a description of the sunset and the rising of the moon in Canto IX. But the moon inflames the god of love, and once more we see the young women preparing to receive their beloved, and sending their eyes and their female love-messengers out after him (IX, 55). Then night falls,—a welcome pretext for a description of orgies of love preceded by a carousal in Canto X. But "these people always scratch and bite one another, when they love one another," as Rückert has already observed. X, 72.

"Through pressing of arms and tearing of hair,
Through striking of wounds with nails and teeth
The god of love who slumbers in the delicate bodies
Of women, was awakened and opened his bright eyes."

And now, so as to leave no doubt whatsoever that he has studied the manual of love, Māgha compares the sounds of voluptuousness and other noises of the enjoyment of love with the words of the Kāmasūtra (X, 75). It is not until the dawn of day and the awakening from the night of love has been described in Canto XI that the poet returns to the warlike events. And even here Kṛṣṇa's entry into the city of the Pāṇdavas (XIII, 30 ff.) cannot be narrated without the poet's describing to us in detail the behaviour of the women of the city on this occasion. Many a verse in Canto XVIII shows that he can also depict the horrors of a battle. And yet these descriptions read more like those of a man who draws image upon image from his imagination, without ever having seen a battle-field with his own eyes.

Māgha is familiar not only with the manuals of politics, erotics and poetics; he also shows his erudition as a student of grammar, music, astrology and medicine, as well as of the Nyāya, Sāṃkhya and Yoga systems of philosophy and even of the dogmas of Buddhism. He expressly mentions Pāṇini's grammar and Bharata's manual of dramatic art. An allusion to a fable of the Pañcatantra proves that he knew this work too, in a form resembling the "textus simplicior."¹⁾

In the manuals of poetics Māgha's Śiśupālavadha is mentioned very frequently,²⁾ from which it may be seen how highly the Indian art critics valued him.

Māgha has also been imitated with great eagerness, mostly by the Kashmiri poet Rājānaka Ratnākara, whose epic Haraviṇaya³⁾ in 50 cantos reveals a detailed study of the Śiśupālavadha.⁴⁾ The subject-matter of the poem is the defeat of

1) Cf. E. Hultsch in Festgabe Garbe, p. 78 ff., and Māgha's Śiśupālavadha ins Deutsche übertragen, p. v. See Śiśup., XIX, 75 (Pāṇini); XX, 44 (Bharata); XVI, 47 (Pañcatantra). Allusions to Buddhism : II, 28; XV, 65; Epilogue V. 2.

2) Cf. Jacobi in WZKM, 4, 1890, p. 296 ff., and C. Cappeller in Festschrift Kuhn, 294 ff.

3) Ed. with Rājānaka Alaka's commentary in Km., 22, 1890. Lexicographic information from the Haraviṇaya is given by R. Schmidt in WZKM, 29, 259 ff. On the author s. above, p. 32.

4) Jacobi, l. c., 240 ff. Ratnākara himself says that he imitated Bāṇa. Cf. also K. H. Dhruva in WZKM, 5, 1891, 25 ff.

the Asura Andhaka by Śiva. But the poet avails himself of the opportunity to bring in all the descriptions prescribed in a Kāvya and to show his knowledge of the Nītiśāstra (in Cantos VIII-XVI) as well as the Kāmaśāstra (in Canto XXIX). In the description of a battle (in Canto XLVII) a hymn to the cruel goddess Durgā (Caṇḍīstotra) is inserted. Another work of the same poet is V a k r o k t i p a ṇ c ā ś i k ā or "the fifty stanzas with Vakroktis" (ambiguous sayings, plays on words)."

A contemporary of Ratnākara is the Buddhist poet Śiva-svāmin, who also lived under King Avantivarman in the 9th century A.D. in Kashmir,²⁾ and wrote an ornate epic K a p p h a ṇ ā b h y u d a y a ³⁾ on the model of Bhāravi and Māgha. The epic deals with a legend of the Avadānaśataka ⁴⁾ of Kapphiṇa, king of the South, who menaces the king of Śrāvastī, but is converted by Buddha to his doctrine in good time.

The Jinistic poet Haricandra (after 900 A.D.) who in his great epic D h a r m a ś a r m ā b h y u d a y a ⁵⁾ describes the life of the Jina Dharmanātha in 21 cantos, has also taken Māgha's epic as his model.

Ornate court poetry is to a very great extent erudite poetry; nowhere is this shown more clearly than in the epic R ā v a ṇ a v a d h a ("The Killing of Rāvaṇa") by the poet Bhaṭṭi, generally known as Bhaṭṭikāvya,⁶⁾ an epic,

1) Ed. with Vallabhadēva's commentary in Km., Part I, 101-14. Specimens from the work are given by C. Bernheimer in ZDMG, 63, 1909, 816 ff. Ratnākara is also the author of a Dhvanigāthāpañjikā. Both works are quoted by Ruyyaka.

2) Rājatarāṅgiṇī, 5, 34. He is often cited in the anthologies.

3) Extracts from the work are given by Śeṣagiri Śāstrin, Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., Madras, 1893-94, p. 49 ff. Cf. Thomas, Kav., 111 ff., and the literature quoted there; Keith, HSL, 133 f.

4) IX, 8 (88).

5) Ed. in Km., 8, 1888; s. above, II, 517.

6) "Bhaṭṭi's poem," just as the Śiśupālavadhā is often called "Māghakāvya." The Bhaṭṭikāvya has been ed. with the earliest commentary, Jayamaṅgala's Jayamaṅgalā, by Govinda Shankara Shāstrī Bāpata in NSP, Bombay, 1887, and with Mallinātha's commentary by K. P. Trivedi in BSS, 1898. Cantos XVIII-XXII have been transl. by C. Schütz, "Fünf Gesänge des Bhaṭṭikāvya" in the Report on the "Gymnasium" at Bielefeld, 1837. A few

which in 22 cantos sings the story of Rāma, but at the same time seeks to illustrate the rules of grammar and poetics by examples. The poem is divided into four sections (Kāṇḍas), the first of which (=Cantos I to V) seeks to give examples for miscellaneous rules, the second (=Cantos VI to IX) for the main rules of Pāṇini's grammar, whilst in the third section (=Cantos X to XIII) the most important figures of speech,¹⁾ and in the fourth the use of the tenses and modes are illustrated by means of examples. It is sufficiently significant that the Bhaṭṭikāvya is always highly esteemed by the Indians as a work of poetic art, is counted as one of their classical works of art, and indeed fully merits the name of "mahākāvya," and that on the other hand it also enjoys a great reputation as an authority on questions of grammar.²⁾ The poet himself says at the end (XXII, 33 f.): "This work is like a lamp for those whose eye is grammar; but it is like a mirror in the hand of the blind for people without grammar. This poem must be understood through a commentary; then it is a feast for the discerning ones. As I only like dealing with experts, fools will fare badly with this poem." It speaks well for the reputation of the Bhaṭṭikāvya that there are no less than 13 different commentaries on the work. The name Bhaṭṭi is a Prākṛit form for Bhartr̥. This may be the reason why the author of this epic has sometimes been

specimens of a metrical translation from the beginning of the poem are given by P. Anderson in JBRAS 3, 1850, p. 20 ff. The first four cantos with English transl. ed. by V. G. Pradhan, Poona, 1897. Cantos I-V in English and Sanskrit ed. Kunjalal Nag, Dacca, 1894. Various editions for class-room purposes have been printed in India.

1) This section shows striking similarities with Bhāmaha, and also with Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa, and yet in details it diverges from all of them. Probably it is based on an earlier manual of poetics, which was also used by Bhāmaha. In Canto XIII there is mention of the *bhāṣāśleṣa* (play on words, in which the same verses are to be read once as Sanskrit, and once as Prākṛit), which does not occur in the earliest Alampkāra-Śāstras, but of which Ānandavardhana furnishes one example. Cf. *Trivedi*, Edition, Vol. II, Notes, p. 9; *Kane* in Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 208, and Introd., p. xiv ff.; *De.*, Poetics I, 50 ff.; *Job. Nobel*, Studien zum 10. Buch des Bhaṭṭikāvya, in Le Muséon, t. 37, 1924, p. 281 ff. Ruyyaka quotes the Bhaṭṭikāvya.

2) Bhaṭṭi is quoted especially frequently by the grammarian Kramadīśvara; s. *Zachariae* in Bezz. Beitr. 5, 1880. 53 ff.

identified with the gnostic poet and grammarian Bhartṛhari or claimed as a member of his family.¹⁾

The Bhaṭṭikāvya is not the only epic which has combined the purposes of the poet with those of the grammarian. The *Rāvaṇārjunīya* (or *Arjunarāvaṇīya*)²⁾ by *Bhaumaka*,³⁾ which is well known in Kashmir, is a similar work. It is a great epic (*mahākāvya*) in 27 cantos. The subject-matter is the fight of Arjuna *Kārttavīrya* with *Rāvaṇa* after the legend told in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (VII, 31-33). The main purpose of the work is, however, the explanation of the grammatical rules of *Pāṇini*.⁴⁾ As another work of the same character, but which is primarily a work of grammatical lexicography, and only secondarily a poem too, we may here mention the *Kavirahasya*⁵⁾ ("Secret of a Poet") by *Halāyudha*. It is a kind of lexicon of roots (*Dhātupāṭha*), in which the formation of the present tense of the Sanskrit verb is to be presented graphically. At the same time, however, it is a eulogy of King *Kṛṣṇarāja III* of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* family, who reigned in the Deccan about 940-956 A.D. *Hemacandra*, too, wrote his historical epic *Kumārāpālacarita* to illustrate his own grammar.⁶⁾

1) Bhaṭṭi is described as the son of the half-brother of Bhartṛhari. Some commentaries directly call the author Bhartṛhari, son of Śrīdharasvāmin. The names Bhaṭṭasvāmin and Bhartṛsvāmin are also given. Chronologically (s. above p. 27, f.-n. 3) it is possible that Bhaṭṭi may have been related to Bhartṛhari. Cf. *Trivedi's* Edition, p. xiv ff.; *Kane* in *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 128, and *Intro.*, p. xiv.

2) Ed. in *Km.* 68, 1900. It is also cited under the name *Vyoṣa* or *Vyoṣakāvya*, s. *K. C. Chatterjee* in *IHQ* 7, 1931, 628 and *Th. Zachariae* in *ZII* 9, 1932, p. 10 ff.

3) The author is also called Bhaṭṭabhauma or Bhaṭṭabhīma or Bhūma or Bhūmaka. Cf. *Trivedi*, *Bhaṭṭikāvya* Ed., *Intro.*, I., p. X f.

4) Kṛṣṇamendra quotes it in the *Suṣṭītilaka* as an example of a *Kāvyaśāstra* ("Manual of the form of a poem").

5) Ed. in both recensions by *L. Heller*, Greifswald 1900. Cf. *Bhandarkar*, Report 1883-84, p. 8 f.; *L. Heller*, *Halāyudha's Kavirahasya*, Diss., Göttingen, 1894; *Zachariae*, *Die indischen Wörterbücher*, p. 26.

6) See below, p. 84. Other grammatical poems are the *Vāsudevaviṇaya* by the poet *Vāsudeva*, who probably lived at the court of King *Vikrama* of Calicut in Kerala, and the supplement to it, the *Dhātukāvya*, by *Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīri*.

It is significant of the authors of court epics that they scarcely ever have the ambition to invent new themes. Again and again the old myths or heroic legends are worked up in new forms. Indeed, their ambition lies precisely in showing that they are able to dress the old well-known and oft re-told subject in a new garb.

The Bengali poet *Abhinanda*,¹⁾ son of Śatānanda, deals with the Rāma legend in his epic *Rāmacarita*.²⁾ The poet, who is compared to Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and Vākpatirāja and is frequently quoted in the anthologies and also in the manuals of poetics, calls his parton Hāravarṣa and Yuvarāja, who is probably identical with King Devapāla (about 815-854 A.D.).³⁾ The poem is a Mahākāvya, which, in a simple Vidarbha style with only occasional long compounds, tells the story of Rāma from about the middle of Book IV of the Rāmāyaṇa down to the end of Book VI. In Canto XVI he extols Devī or Śakti.

It is a different *Abhinanda*⁴⁾ who, also in the 9th century, wrote the epic *Kādambarīkathāsāra*,⁵⁾ an

The two poems, ed. in Km., Part X, pp. 52-121, 121-123, relate the legend of Kṛṣṇa, and at the same time illustrate Pāṇini's Grammar and Dhātupāṭha. This Vāsudeva, who, may also have been the author of Rāmakathā, Saṃkṣepa-Rāmāyaṇa and Saṃkṣepa-Bhārata is not the same as the author of the Yamaka-poem Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya.

Cf. K.R. Pisharoti in BSOS, Vol. V, Part IV, 1930, 797 ff. As late as in the 18th century a grammatical poem, the *Nakṣatramālā* by Tripāṭhi Śivarāma was written, ed. in Km., Part V, 1888, pp. 105-115.

1) He is also called Gauḍābhinanda, Abhinandana, Āryāvilāsa (most probably so-called as a devotee of Āryā or Devī) and Vilāsa for short, and Gauḍa Kumbhakara, s. V. Raghavan in Ann. Bh. Inst. 16, 1935, 141 f.

2) Critically edited with Introduction by K. S. Rāmasvāmī Śāstrī *Śiromaṇi*, GOS 46, 1930.

3) This is made to seem probable by the editor *Rāmasvāmī Śāstrī* (Intro., p. xx ff.). On Devapāla, son of Dharmapāla, of the Pāla dynasty, see H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, 290 ff., 384.

4) He is also the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra*. The two Abhinandas are often confused with each other. They are both Bengalis, so that the name Gauḍābhinanda (i.e., "Abhinanda of Bengal") can be applied to both. Both have associations with Kashmir and both are quoted between 1000 and 1400 A.D. In the anthologies many verses by Abhinanda are given, some of which occur in the *Rāmacarita*, some in the *Kādambarīkathāsāra* and some in neither of the two. Cf. Thomas, Kav., p. 20 ff.; Har Dutt Sharma in *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, Ed., Intro., p. 37 f.; De, *Padyāvalī*, p. 181 ff.

5) Ed. in Pandit, Vols. I, II and in Km. 11, 1888; with a commentary by Nandafāla Sarmā, Lahore, 1900; see Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., No. 7058. Kṣemendra too has written a

abridgment of Bāṇa's novel "Kādambarī." This Abhinanda calls himself a son of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta and traces his descent back to his great-great-grandfather Śaktisvāmin, who was the minister of the Kashmiri king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (699-735 A.D.).

The story of the killing of Kīcaka,¹⁾ which is told in the Virāṭa-Parvan of the Mahābhārata, is treated in an epic very popular with the Pandits of Bengal,—the Yamaka-Kāvya Kīcaka-vadhā²⁾ by Nītivarman (9th or 10th century A. D.?) in five cantos. Nītivarman is not a great poet, but excels through his extraordinary skill in the use of rhymes and puns.

The legend of Kṛṣṇa is treated by Loliṃbarāja, who is supposed to have lived at the court of the South Indian king Harihara, a contemporary of King Bhoja,³⁾ in his epic Harivilāsa,⁴⁾ in five cantos, the third of which is devoted to the description of the seasons and the fourth to a description of the god Kṛṣṇa. Kṣemendras sings of the incarnations of Viṣṇu in his Daśāvatāracarita.⁵⁾ A short canto is devoted to each one of the ten incarnations (fish, tortoise, boar, man-lion, dwarf, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki). In Canto

Padyakādambarī, "Kādambarī in verses," s. I. Schönberg, Kṣemendras Kavikaṣṭhābharaṇa, p. 6; De, Poetics, I, 172.

1) See above I, 354.

2) With the Commentary of Janārdanasena. Ed. with an Introduction, Notes and Extracts from the Commentary of Sarvānandanāga by Sushil Kumar De, Dacca University Oriental Publ. Series, No. 1, 1929. The work is quoted in manuals of poetics from the 11th century onwards, beginning with Bhoja (about 1050 A. D.) as well as in dictionaries and grammatical works. I think it very probable that I, 7 should be interpreted as an allusion to King Vighraṇapāla. Cf. S. K. De, Ed., pp. xiii f., 93 f.; JRAS 1927, 109 f.; BSOS V, 3, 1929, 502 f.; A. B. Keith in BSOS V, 1, 1928, p. 31.

3) Cf. Pandit, Vol. II, p. 78 f.; Weber, Ind. Streifen III, 210, n. 3; Krishnamacharya 120; and Km., Part XI, p. 94 f., note.

4) Ed. in Pandit, Vol. II, 79 ff., 101 ff. and in Km., Part XI, 1895, 94-133. The Kṛṣṇa-legend is also treated in the Gopālalilā by Rāmacandra (born in 1489 in Tāilinga), ed. in Pandit, Vol. VI.

5) Ed. in Km. 26, 1891. On the Buddhāvatāra cf. A. Foucher, JA 1892, s. 8, t. XX, 167 ff., and J. J. Meyer, Altindische Schelmenbücher I, p. xxxiii f., where the passage IX, 24 ff. has been translated.

IX Buddha appears as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, and the Buddha legend is transformed into a Viṣṇu legend. In *Bhāratamañjarī* and *Rāmāyaṇamañjarī*,¹⁾ the other two epics by Kṣemendra which have come down to us, the contents of the two great epics are made accessible to the reader in convenient fashion, but at the same time, as S. Lévi²⁾ says, the poems are shorn of all their beauty. Two centuries later, another abridged version of the Mahābhārata was composed by the Jain *Amaracandra Sūri*,³⁾ the *Bālabhārata*,⁴⁾ which, though divided as an ornate epic into cantos (sarga), at the same time follows the Parvan-division of the ancient epic. The poem, which was composed under King Viśaladeva of Anhilvad (1243-1261) shows great skill in the use of the metres. The same Amaracandra, a pupil of Jinadatta Sūri, also wrote at the request of the minister Padma Mahākāvya *Paḍmānanda*⁵⁾ in 19 cantos, in which the life of the first Jina, Rṣabha, is treated in an ornate style. Various metres are used for the various cantos, 35 in all. In a shorter work *Caturviṃśati-Jinendra-Saṃkṣipta-Caritāni*,⁶⁾ he deals briefly with the lives of all the 24 Jinas. Amaracandra is dependent on *Hemacandra*.⁷⁾

1) Edited in Km 65, 1898 and 83, 1903.

2) JA 1885, s. 8, t. VI, 420. Lévi makes the very feasible conjecture that the two works were written only as "poetical exercises," such as are recommended to budding poets by Kṣemendra in the *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*. As the *Bhāratamañjarī* and the *Daśavatāracarita* are dated 1037 and 1066 respectively, all the three Mañjaris may have been works of the poet's youth.

3) Also called by the epithets *Amarapaṇḍita* or *Amarayati*. The poet is also the author of works on poetics and metrics.

4) Ed. in Pandit, Vol. IV-VI and in Km. 45, 1891. D. Galanos, who lived in India from 1786 to 1833, translated it into modern Greek (Athens, 1847). Cf. Weber in ZDMG 27, 1873, 170 ff.; Ind. Streifen 3, 211 ff.

5) Critically edited, with introduction, Indices and Appendices by H. R. Kāpādiā in GOS 58, 1932.

6) Edited by Kāpādiā in the Appendix to GOS 58, pp. 447-588.

7) On the Mahākāvyas, in which the lives of the Jinas are described poetically by Hemacandra and other Jain poets, s. above II, 501 ff., 512 ff. We might also add the *Munisuvrata-Kāvyaratna*, edited in TSS No. 107, 1931, in which the life of the 20th Jina is described by a poet Arhaddāsa, whose time is unknown.

The so-called Śleṣa, the pun, the use of words with double meaning, is one of the favourite figures of the Indian ornate poets. The art of using these Śleṣas was developed to such perfection by some poets that they composed entire epics which can be read in more than *one* sense. Thus the poet *Sandhyākara Nandi* wrote an epic *Rāmapālacarita*,¹⁾ in which every verse is to be taken in a *double sense*, the one sense referring to the hero Rāma and the other to King Rāmapāla who reigned in Bengal at the end of the 11th century. This poet was outdone by two other poets, who made it their task to compose *one* great epic in which the narrative of the Mahābhārata as well as that of the Rāmāyaṇa is contained, in such a way that every single verse admits of a double interpretation: in the one sense it tells the story of the Pāṇḍavas, in the other that of Rāma. The earlier of these two works is the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* or *Dvīsandhānākāvya*,²⁾ by the Digambara-Jain *Dhananājaya* from Karnaṭa, who is mentioned by Vādirāja in the *Pārśvanāthacarita* (1025 A.D.) and perhaps lived between 960 and 1000 A.D.³⁾ The *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*⁴⁾ by *Kavirāja*, whose patron Kāmadeva II was of the Kādamba family, and who

1) Edited by *Haraprasāda Sāstrī* in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 3, 1910, pp. 1-56. Cf. *Ep. Ind.* IX, 321 f. *H. C. Ray*, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, 258 etc. (s. Index, p. 649) has used the work as a historical source. Cf. *Ramaprasad Chanda* in the *Modern Review*, March 1935, p. 349 f.

2) That is, "the poem with a double interpretation." It consists of 18 Sargas and is edited with a commentary in *Km.* 49, 1895.

3) See above II, 515. Cf. *A. Venkatasubbiah* in *JBRAS* 3, 1928, 135 ff., *K. B. Pathak* in *JBRAS* 21, 1904, 1 ff.; *Bhandarkar*, *Report*, 1884-1887, p. 19 f.; *Th. Zachariae*, *Die indischen Wörterbücher* p. 27 f.

4) Ed. with the commentary of *Śaśadhara* in *Km.* 62. The poem consists of 13 Sargas. Yet another *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*, written by *Śrutakīrti*, is mentioned in a *Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa* inscription, dated 1163 A. D., in a verse which seems to be quoted from the *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa* (1105 A.D.). See *R. Narasimhachar* in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II, Nr. 64 (translation, p. 18). This *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* which does not seem to have been found yet, was a *pratyāyata-kāvya*, i.e. a poem in which each verse if read in the usual way tells the story of Rāma, and if read backwards, the story of the Pāṇḍavas. For a *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*, which, when read backwards gives the story of Kṛṣṇa, see *Keith*, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, No. 7133.

reigned between 1230 and 1307 A.D., is a separate work from the last-named.¹ The poet boasts that with the exception of Subandhu and Bāṇa none can equal him in "crooked speech" (vakrokti). The *Rāghavanaīṣaḍhīya*² by Haradattaśūri, whose time is uncertain, is another work belonging to the same category. In this epic, too, every verse has a double meaning, one alluding to Rāma, the other to Nala.

The Nala legend has been dealt with repeatedly by the ornate poets. The most celebrated is the *Naiṣaḍhacarita*³ by the poet Śrīharaṣa, which is usually named by the Indian art critics side by side with the epics of the classical poets Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Māgha as the last in the series of masterpieces of the Ornate Court Epic. It is a great epic in 22 cantos dealing with the story of Nala in the most elaborate style. Indeed, there is scarcely any better way of bringing home to our minds the vast difference between the ancient popular epic and the ornate court epic, than to compare the simple story of Nala and Damayantī in the Mahābhārata, which in its naïve presentation and its simple and forceful language touches and charms us even

1) Kavirāja, "Poet-prince," is a title which Indian poets have only too frequently arrogated to themselves. For this reason we cannot draw any chronological conclusions from the mention of a Kavirāja (e.g., in Vāmana's *Kāvyaālaṃkāravṛtti* 4, 1, 10). It is true that the fact that our poet is also called Kavirājasūri or Kavirājapaṇḍita, seems to indicate that the epithet Kavirāja had become a proper name. Cf. Venkatasubbiah, l.c., p. 147 ff.; K. B. Pathak in JBRAS 22, 1908, 11 ff. Pathak assumes that Mādhavabhaṭṭa was the real name of Kavirāja, but Venkatasubbiah disputes this.

2) Edited with the poet's own commentary in Km. 57, 1896. There is even a *Rāghavapaṇḍavayāḍavīya* by Cidambara, in which each verse admits of three interpretations, as it relates the contents of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, s. Aufrecht, CG I, 500, II, 117.

3) Without any apparent reason the poem is divided into two halves, the Pūrva- and the Uttara-Naiṣaḍhacarita (I-XI and XII-XXII). An edition of the first half by Premā Chandra Pandita with his own commentary, appeared in Calcutta in 1836; an edition of the Uttara-Naiṣaḍhacarita with the commentary of Nārāyaṇa by E. Roer in Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1855. A complete edition with the commentary of Nārāyaṇa, also in Bombay NSP, W. Yates. (As. Researches, Vol. 20, 2nd part, Calcutta 1839, p. 318 ff.) has already well characterised this work. Cantos I-XXII translated into English with Critical Notes and Extracts from unpublished Commentaries, Appendices and a Vocabulary by Krishnna Kanta Handiqui, Lahore, 1934.

to-day, with the bombastic poem of Śrīharṣa, whose sole aim is to apply all the arts of the Alampkāraśāstra, to surmount all the difficulties of metrics, and to show off not only his thorough knowledge of mythology but also his mastery of the Kāmaśāstra. What a difference between the delicate chastity with which the love between Nala and Damayantī is depicted in the Mahābhārata, and the sultry erotics bordering on obscenity in Cantos XVIII-XX of the Naiṣadhacarita, which describe the love-life of the newly-wed couple. And yet it cannot be denied that Śrīharṣa is a master of language and metrics, an artist in the invention of elaborate plays on words, and that he has many good ideas in his descriptions of nature.

Whilst the ornate poets are generally content with applying puns and ambiguities merely to show their linguistic talents, Śrīharṣa knows how to utilise them occasionally also in places where there is internal justification for them through the context. In order to confuse Damayantī in the self-choice of a husband, the four gods have assumed the form of Nala. The poet now (XIII, 3 ff.) lets Sarasvatī, who introduces to Damayantī the princes who are to woo her, introduce the five "Nalas" in verses which have a double meaning, one meaning fitting Nala, and the other the god who is concealed in Nala's form. It is a pretty fancy when the poet (XXII, 40), after Nala has described the night in a number of verses, introduces the description of the rising of the moon by saying that the moon had grown red with anger at Nala's description "of his friend, the dark," and that in order to appease it, Nala hastily began to sing the praises of the moon "rising in rose-red beauty." But how insipid and pedantic it is when the poet (in Canto VII) describes the beauty of Damayantī in 108 verses and from her eyes, to which he devotes nine verses, her nose, which is described in one verse, her lip, sung in six verses, etc., right down to her toes, and does not spare us *one single* part of her body. And in the 22 cantos of the epic he does not succeed in bringing the story further than the description of the happiness of the newly-wed couple. The poem ends with the description of the moonlit night in a conversation between Nala and Damayantī.

It is obvious how little the poet cares about the story itself, and how much about the tricks and niceties of diction. As beseems the author of a Mahākāvya, Śrīharṣa is also a learned poet, which he proves by occasional allusions to the philosophical

doctrines of the Vedānta, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā and the Buddhistic systems.¹⁾ In Canto XVII, where a disciple of Cārvāka out of the host of evil spirits accompanying the demon Kali proclaims his hedonistic-materialistic and anti-religious doctrines, he shows that he is also familiar with the teachings of materialism.

The numerous commentaries which have been written on the work ²⁾ also speak for the great popularity enjoyed by this epic. The following anecdote, however, shows that the appreciation of the poem among Indian critics themselves is not unanimous :

When Śrīharṣa had finished his Naiṣadhacarita, he showed it to his uncle Mammaṭa, the author of the Kāvyaaprakāśa. When the latter had read it through, he expressed his regret at not having seen it before ; for when he wrote the chapter in his poetics on the faults of a poem, he was at great pains to search for examples in numerous books. Had he known the Naiṣadhacarita in good time, he would not have needed to seek further, and could have given an example of every kind of fault from this work.³⁾

Probably in the 13th century the poet Kṛṣṇānanda not only wrote a commentary on the Naiṣadhacarita, but also re-told the Nala legend himself in an epic *Sahṛdayānanda*⁴⁾ in 15 cantos. And once more in the 15th century the poet *Vāmanabhātṭabāṇa*, also called " the new Bāṇa "

1) See Appendix I to the translation of *Handiqui*. Śrīharṣa is also the author of a work on Vedānta Philosophy.

2) *Handiqui* deals with eight different commentaries in the Introduction to his Translation. The treatise by Rama Varna *Pareekshit Tampuran* " The Art of Śrī Harṣa," in A Souvenir of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Department for the Publication of Oriental MSS., Trivandrum (1933), p. 48 ff. shows how much the poem is even at the present day appreciated by Indian Pandits.

3) Given by Hall, *Vāsavadattā* Ed., Preface, p. 55. who quotes it from a Bengali pamphlet entitled *Saṃskṛtabhāṣā o Saṃskṛta-sāhitya-śāstraviṣayaka Prastāva*. It is probably one of the many literary anecdotes which are current among the Pandits and have no historical value whatsoever. For this reason the statement that Mammaṭa was an uncle of Śrīharṣa, cannot be used for chronological purposes either.

4) Edited in Km. 32, 1892.

(Abhinavabhaṭṭabāṇa), treated the same legend in his *Nalābhayūdaya*.¹⁾

The *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*²⁾ by the Kashmiri poet Maṅkha deserves especial mention. It deals with the myth of the annihilation of the Asura Tripura by Śiva. The myth, however, is but a secondary consideration. The things which matter most to the poet are the descriptions of the seasons, the rising and setting of the sun, the amusements of the court, etc., written in accordance with all the rules of poetics. Maṅkha himself calls Ruyyaka, the author of a well-known work on poetics, his teacher.³⁾ Canto XXV is of great interest from the point of view of the history of literature, where Maṅkha tells us how, when he had completed his poem, he read it aloud to a number of Pandits including court officials, who were assembled at the house of his brother Alampkāra, the minister of Jayasimha. The poet mentions the names of those present and the branches of learning in which they had distinguished themselves. At this opportunity he gives a graphic sketch of a *Sabha*, i. e., a gathering of scholars, such as are still held at the present day and have probably been held since many centuries. From the genealogical tree which the poet gives of himself, we learn that he was one of four brothers who were all at the same time authors, scholars and officials.

The religious epic *Haracarita-cintāmaṇi*⁴⁾ by the Kashmiri poet Rājānaka Jayaratha, which is full of

1) A fragment of eight cantos of this poem has been edited in TSS No 3, 1913 by Gaṇapati Śāstrī. This "new Bāṇa" (Abhinavabāṇa) is also the author of the *Vemabhūpālarita*, a prose novel after the style of the *Harṣacarita*. Vema, the hero of this novel, was still living when Vāmanabhaṭṭabāṇa wrote, probably in the first half of the 15th century. Cf. Gaṇapati's introduction and *Suālī* in GSAI 26, 214.

2) Edited with the commentary of Jonarāja (1417-1467 A. D.) in Km. 3, 1887. Canto XXV translated into German by Elisabeth Kreyenborg. *Der XXV Gesang des Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam des Maṅkha. Ein Beitrag zur altindischen Literaturgeschichte*. Diss. Münster i. W. 1929.

3) Ruyyaka quotes the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* in his *Alampkārasarvasva*.

4) Edited in Km. 61, 1897. See Bühler, Report, p. 61.

Siva-myths and doctrines of Śivaism, also belongs to the 12th century.

The *K a t h ā k a u t u k a* by Ś r ī v a r a (15th century) deserves to be mentioned as a curiosity.¹⁾ This is a very mediocre epic, which renders the story of Joseph in 15 cantos, after Jāmī's "Yusuf u Zuleikha." The poem, which is an imitation rather than a translation of the Persian poem, begins with a glorification of Mahāmada Śāhi (Muhammad Shāh, who ascended the throne in 1481) in whose reign Jāmī wrote. This amalgamation of the old Hebrew story with the Persian romantic love lyric and the Indian Śiva faith is remarkable enough ; for Śrīvara is a staunch devotee of Śiva, and Canto XV is entirely devoted to the praise of Śiva.

As late as in the 17th century the poet H a r i , also called B h ā n u b h a ṭ ṭ a , son of Nārāyaṇa, wrote an epic H a i h a y e n d r a c a r i t a on the model of the Naiṣadha-carita, treating the life of the mythical king Arjuna Kārtavīrya according to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. The poet himself compares his work to the mountain Mandara whose task it is to twirl the milk-ocean of the beautiful poetry of Śrīharṣa. This Hari is also the author of a historical poem Ś a m b h u r ā j a c a r i t a , in which the life of his patron, King Śambhu of Nandidvāra, who is identical with the Maratha King Sambhāji, the son of Shivāji, is described, and which was completed in 1684 A.D.²⁾

Mention may be made of the poet Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita of the 17th century, a pious Śaiva, who sings of the descent of

1) See R. Schmidt, *Das Kathākautukam des Qrīvara verglichen mit Dschāmīs Jusuf und Zuleikha*, Kiel 1893, and Śrīvaras *Kathākautukam*, die Geschichte von Joseph in persisch-indischem Gewand, Sanskrit und Deutsch, Kiel 1898. Text also in Km. 72, 1901. On the Persian poem s. P. Horn, *Geschichte der persischen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 190 f. The epic *Delārāmakathāsāra* by the Kashmiri Rājānaka Bhaṭṭa Ahlāḍaka, edited in Km. 77, 1902, (see Hertel, *Jinakīrtis "Geschichte von Pā'a und Gopāla,"* p. 61 ff., 135 f.) also comes from the Persian.

2) See Th. V. Schtcherbatskoi, *Ueber das Haihayendracarita des Harikavi*, in *Memoires de l'Académie imp. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, VIII^e série, t. IV, No. 9, 1900, and P. K. Gode in *Ann. Bh. Inst.* 16, 1935, p. 262 ff.

the heavenly Gaṅgā to the world of human beings in his *Gaṅgāvataraṇa*.¹⁾ Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita is also the author of the *Śivalīlāraṇava*,²⁾ which in 21 cantos deals with the 64 "sports" (līlā) of Śiva (according to the Hālāsya-Māhātmya of the Skanda-Purāṇa). That women too took part in the ornate court poetry is shown by the poetess Mādhubavāṇī, who once more dealt with the theme of the Rāmāyaṇa in her *Rāmāyaṇasāra*. She was the court-poetess of King Raghunātha of Tanjore (17th century).³⁾ Two cantos of an epic *Rājaprasasti* by a poet Raṇacchoda of the end of the 18th century, have even come down to us in an inscription.⁴⁾ Even as late as the end of the 18th or beginning of the 19th century Rūpanātha Upādhyāya describes the campaigns of Rāma and his victory over the Rākṣasas, in the *Rāmavijaya-Mahākāvya*.⁵⁾

That the Sanskrit court epic is cultivated even at the present day, is proved by Viśvanātha Devaśarmā, the Rājā Bahadur of Athagarh, Orissa, who sent me in January 1913 a mythological epic in eleven cantos composed by himself, *Rukmīṇipariṇaya* (Calcutta 1912). With the poem there is a commentary written by the first queen. It is a Mahākāvya, executed in accordance with all the rules of poetics, and might just as well have been written five centuries earlier.

On the whole the history of the ornate court epic does not afford a gratifying picture. It may be said that the atmosphere

1) Edited in Km. 76, 1902. The poet is a son of Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, who was a nephew of the more celebrated Appaya Dīkṣita.

2) Edited by Gaṇapati Śāstrī in TSS No. 4, 1909. *Cakra Kavi*, the author of the epic *Jānakīpariṇaya*, edited in TSS No. 24, 1913, is perhaps a contemporary of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita.

3) See M. T. Narasimhiengar in JRAS, 1908, 168.

4) See Kielhorn in Ep. Ind. 5, Appendix, No. 321.

5) With introduction by Pandit Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī Khiste, ed. by Gaṇapatilal Jha, Benares, 1932 (Princess of Wales Sarasvatī Bhāvanā Texts, No. 39). The Rāma-epic *Raghuvīracarita*, ed. in TSS No. 57, 1917, is by an unknown author from an unknown period. The *Bharatacarita*, dealing with the legend of Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta, by a poet Kṛṣṇa, ed. in TSS No. 86, 1926, is also of an uncertain period.

and the patronage of the courts have not been favourable to the development of the epic. That the Indians had great poetical talent, that they possessed imagination, that they were capable of presenting splendid pictures of human destinies, that they knew how to delineate characters in masterly fashion, and moreover that they were not lacking in original ideas—all this is proved by the popular epics, the narrative literature and the superior works of dramatic literature. But there is no sign of all this in the ornate court epic. Here the characters are almost always stereotyped, the poet does not seek to invent, and the old epic themes are merely taken over with but slight alteration. It can only be assumed that the *Alaṃkāra-Śāstra* killed true poetry. Form won complete victory over contents. And yet, what a volume of ingenuity and tremendous intellectual effort has been expended in these poems!

In the lyric, too, in gnomic poetry, and in the drama, as well as in the masterpieces of narrative literature, the *Kāvya* style comes into its own. We shall see, however, that there the popular origin was not so entirely lost beneath the influence of the court atmosphere as to allow the contents to be grossly neglected in favour of the form, as in the case of the epic.

*Historiography.*¹

In India the writing of history also belongs to ornate court poetry. It has often been said that the Indians have no historiography at all and no historical sense whatsoever. This is not correct. A sense for history is already evidenced by the lists of teachers in various Vedic texts and the genealogies in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. In spite of all the mythical

¹ See J. F. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* 30, 1901, 1 ff.; E. Windisch, *Geschichte der Sanskrit-philologie* I, p. 170 ff (on Lassen, *Ind. Altertumskunde* II, 1 ff.; 40 ff.); Hermann Goetz, *Die Stellung der indischen Chroniken im Rahmen der indischen Geschichte* in *ZB* 6, 1924-25, p. 139 ff. and Narendra Nath Law, *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Calcutta Oriental Series No. 18., E. 11), London (1925), p. 125 ff.

element, which is certainly predominant in the Purāṇas, they do nevertheless contain many valuable historical traditions.¹⁾

Hsüan-Tsang testifies to there having been annals in every Indian city in his time. Even at the present day Rajputs, Banias and Mewatis have annals which are carefully preserved by Bhāṭas.²⁾ The Indians have genealogical trees of a kind unknown to us. Persons of any importance at all, headmen of villages and even ordinary peasants can show a genealogy which often traces the most distantly ramified relationships from two or three centuries, and which is of importance in the settlement of questions of inheritance. Every monastery (maṭha) carefully preserves the line of its successive principal teachers. A sense for history is also displayed by the ecclesiastical works of the Buddhists and the Jains, who record the lives of their saints and the history of their religious communities in chronicles and biographies, and who, as far as they were able, have handed them down historically.³⁾ The historical sense is lastly also revealed in the numerous inscriptions which have come down to us from all centuries beginning with the age of Aśoka, and which at any rate show that the Indians, too, had a sense of the connection of the present with the past and the future, and that they were anxious to trace the history of their kings as far back as possible in genealogies, and to record the deeds of their rulers for coming generations on stone columns and rocks, on temples and in caves and on copper plates for future eras.

¹⁾ See above I, 194f., 302, 320, 375f., 444f., 520, 522 f., 528f., 584 and F. E. Pargiter in JRAS 1910, p. 1 ff.

²⁾ C. V. Vaidya, *The Mahabharata*, Bombay 1905, 76f. In Western India there are even now the court-singers who read aloud the Praśastipāṭhas (the pauegyrical annals) in the family circle. See *Shankar Pandit*, *Gaṇḍavaho*, p. clxix, note.

³⁾ See above, II, 208 ff., 475, 519 ff. "The History of Buddhism" by the Tibetan Tāranātha, is also based on Indian sources. He himself mentions a work written by the Pandit Kṣemendrabhadra of Magadha in 2000 ślokas a Buddha-Purāṇa by Indradatta and an ancient history of the Ācāryas written by the Brahman Bhaṭaghaṭi, as the foundations of his own work (*Tāranātha, Geschichte des Buddhismus...übersetzt von A. Schiefner*, p. 291.) The Paṭṭāvalis, the lists of Jain patriarchs, are also historical documents, see above, II, 475 and also *Bhandarkar, Report*, 1883-1884, 14f., 319 ff.

Nevertheless, it is true that India has never produced a Herodotus, any more than she has produced a Livy or a Tacitus. What was missing in the Indians was not the sense for history, but the sense of criticism and historical truth. And the reason for this is that, as a rule, the historians were court-poets or priests. The former were chiefly concerned with singing the praises of their princes, recording their and their ancestors' heroic deeds, and probably also inventing some, if none existed. The priests' main concern was to proclaim and increase the fame of their sect or community.

Besides, Indian historiography was never anything more than a branch of poetry: chronicles in which myth and history are closely mingled, or biographical and historical epics and romances, or mere verse-panegyrics on kings with historical or semi-historical contents. The fact is that the Indian historian pursues an entirely different aim from that of the Greek or Roman historian. He has no desire to investigate connections, to ascertain historical facts critically and explain them psychologically; what he wants is to entertain and instruct as a poet (kavi), above all to give moral instruction by explaining the influence of the moral conduct on human destinies by means of examples.¹⁾ For this reason all Indian "historical works" can be used as historical sources only with extreme circumspection. The saying of the court-fool of a Tartar Khan is generally true of them: the latter had his life and deeds described by his court historiographer, with the title, "A thousand and one truths," whereupon the court-fool said that "A thousand and one fairy-tales" would be a more correct title. A further fact is that the Indians could not write history without beginning from the beginning. In order to arrive at the history of the dynasty of their age, the compilers of the Purāṇas begin with the beginning of the world, the Buddhist monks with the first Buddha, who is supposed to have lived billions of years ago, and the authors of

1) See Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* Transl. I, p. 35 ff.

more recent historical epics with the heroes of the Mahābhārata or with gods and demi-gods, to whom the earthly kings trace their descent. Hence the mixture of legend and history which is the greater the earlier the period to which the author goes back, and which decreases the more he approaches his own time. Hence it is quite possible that a historian who has nothing but myths and fairy-tales to relate of the earliest times, may be quite reliable for his own epoch and the period immediately preceding it.

✓ The *Praśastis* too, *i.e.* "verse-panegyrics," which have come down in inscriptions, are not merely historical documents, but also often more or less accomplished ornate poems, generally written in elaborate metres, sometimes in artificial prose. They are poems which were written at the command of princes or wealthy men by professional poets (including such as are known in literature). They contain reports about dedications of temples and other religious or temporal monuments. After a benediction there generally follows the genealogy and panegyrical description of the donor and the ruling prince, if the last-named is not himself the donor, then a description of the monument, its purpose and the charities, privileges, etc., connected with the donation, and the conclusion consists of wishes relating to the preservation of the monument, adjuration against possible disturbers or destroyers of it, observations about the architect who built it, the priest who consecrated it, the poet and writer of the inscription, and lastly, unfortunately not always an exact, mention of the date. Side by side with *Praśastis* of 10-12 verses there are long poems of a hundred and more verses.¹⁾ It has already been shown above how important these poetical inscriptions are for the history of ornate court poetry. Among the inscriptions of the Gupta princes and the numerous other *Praśastis* there are, side by side with many inferior productions, quite a number of poems which at least when judged according to Indian standards should be counted as excellent epic poems.

1) See Bühler in WZKM 2, 1888, 86 ff.

Thus, for instance, there are two long Praśastis which were written by a not unimportant poet Rāma between 700 and 800 A.D. The fact that he calls himself "prince of poets" (Kaviśvāra) and says of himself that he composed this eulogy when he was still a young man, and boasts that he goddess Sarasvatī lived in his lotus-mouth even before he had forgotten the taste of his mother's milk, is of little consequence. It is more important that such an excellent Sanskrit scholar as Būhler, the editor of the inscription,¹⁾ pronounces him to be a poet of much talent and erudition. For instance he has composed a Stotra in 14 verses, in which each verse can be applied at one and the same time to Śiva and also to his consort Gaurī. Rare words and forms prove that he assiduously studied grammar and dictionary. The inscription of Lalitāsura-deva of the 9th century A. D. also contains an ornate poem.²⁾

The earliest literary work known to us which can be termed historical, is Bāṇa's historical novel Harṣacarita, of which we shall speak later.³⁾ The earliest historical epic which has come down to us is the Prākṛit-Kāvya Gaṇḍavahana⁴⁾ by Vākpātirāja, the court-poet of King Yaśovarman of Kanauj. It was probably written after the death of the king about 750 A.D. Yet however the work is more a panegyric than a historical poem; for it contains only very scanty information about the martial deeds of the hero, and much more of descriptions of landscapes, seasons, royal entertainments, etc., interwoven with numerous mythic tales. Vākpātirāja is more original than the Sanskrit poets, inasmuch as he also depicts

1) Ep. Ind., 1, 97 ff.

2) Ind. Ant. 25, 1896, 177 ff. A large collection of poetical inscriptions, for the most part deeds of gifts of land, has been published in the Prācīnalekhamālā, Km. 34, 1892; 64, 1897; 80, 1903.

3) In the chapter on the Ornate Novel.

4) Ed. by Shaṅkar P. Pandit, BSS No 34, 1887. See Būhler in WZKM 1, 1887, 324 ff.; 2, 1888, 328 ff. V. A. Smith in JRAS 1908, p. 778 ff. Haripāla's commentary is scarcely more than a translation of the Prākṛit into Sanskrit.

scenes from village life, which are not usually found in other ornate epics. He keeps his distance from puns and ambiguities, but long compounds are not unusual. The text which has come down to us is, however, only a torso, which, as it appears, contains only the introduction (kathāpīṭha) to the actual poem, but the introduction in itself is of considerable length. Probably for some reason or other it was not completed by the author.¹⁾ Nevertheless it is not without importance from the point of view of the history of Kanauj.

The *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*²⁾ by *Padmagupta* or *Parimala*, is an epic dealing in reality with a fairy-tale theme, but which does refer to historical names and events, and hence may also be mentioned as a historical work in a certain sense. This poem deals in 18 cantos with the fairy-tale of the winning of the snake daughter Śaśiprabhā, but was written by the poet as a glorification of his patron, King Sindhurāja Navasāhasāṅka. Indian court-poets are frequently inclined to transform historical events of the most recent past into myths, from purely poetical motives.³⁾ Thus here too there is a historical nucleus concealed in this fairy-tale narrative. The poem may have been written about 1005 A.D.⁴⁾

The fondness of Indian poets for clothing even historical events in mythical garb is further exemplified by the *Vikra-*

1) *Jacobi* in GGA 1888, p. 61 f. has put forward the less probable hypothesis that the text which has come down to us is only an extract from an original work from which the purely historical details have been omitted so as to preserve only the "gems" of the poem, the poetical descriptions, etc. Cf. *Shankar P. Pandit*, *Introd.*, p. xli ff. and *J. Hertel* in *Asia Major* I, 1924, p. 13 ff.

2) Edited by *V. S. Islāmpurkar*, BSS No. 53, 1895. Cf. *G. Bühler* and *Th. Zachariae*, *Ueber das Navasāhasāṅkacarita des Padmagupta oder Parimala*, in SWA 1888, translated into English by *May S. Burgess* in *Ind. Ant.* 36, 1907, pp. 149-172, and *V.V. Mirashi* in *Ind. Ant.* 62, 1933, 101 ff. In the concluding verse of his *Naiṣadharita*, Śrīharṣa mentions a *Campū* with the title *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* as a work written by himself.

3) *Bühler* and *Zachariae*, l.c., p. 48 f. Such mythologizing descriptions are even to be found in inscriptions.

4) Cf. *Bühler* in *Ep. Ind.* 1, 222 ff.; 232; *Duff*, 100; *Peterson*, *Subh.* 51 ff. The work is cited by *Ruyyaka* (beginning of the 12th century).

m ā ṇ k a d e v a c a r i t a ¹⁾ by *B i l h a ṇ a*, in which the history of the Cālukya princes begins with a myth about the origin of this royal dynasty, and the god Śiva always appears in it whenever the king is at variance with morality, the king's bride is described as an elf (*Vidyādhari*), and so forth. The work relates the history of the princes of the Cālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa, Someśvara I, Someśvara II and especially Vikramāditya VI, who reigned from 1076 to 1127. Bilhaṇa's chief concern is, however, to show his art as a poet, to keep to all the rules of poetics, and to glorify his hero in extravagant fashion. Although the facts that he relates are historical in themselves, as is proved by the numerous inscriptions of the Cālukyas, we nevertheless get a distorted picture, because he always exaggerates. Thus with every campaign of the Cālukyas against the Colas he assures us that the latter were completely annihilated, though soon after that we hear that fresh movements on the part of the hereditary enemy necessitate a further campaign. Again, the interval of time between the individual events is never stated accurately, but the poet always says only: "After some time," "after many days" and the like. The poet puts the historian entirely into the shade. Bilhaṇa tells us for instance that at the birth of his king flowers fell from heaven, Indra's drum sounded and the gods rejoiced in heaven,—but he does not tell us the date of his birth.

As an epic poet he loves to linger over descriptions. Thus he devotes three whole cantos to the wedding of Vikrama and Candralekhā, and describes the charms of the bride in detail. In the description of the self-choice of a husband he has taken Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* as his model. One of the most beautiful and most pathetic passages in the poem is the narrative of the death of Āhavamalla, the father of Vikrama, in Canto IV. ²⁾

In Canto XVIII the poet gives his autobiography. Here he describes his home, especially his native village Khonamukha, so graphically that B ü h l e r, ³⁾ who visited the place, expresses his admiration

¹⁾ Edited by G. Bühler, BSS No. 14, 1875.

²⁾ A poetical translation of this passage into English is given in *Ind. Ant.* 5, 1976, 324 ff.

³⁾ Report 5 f.

for the accuracy of the description. The village nestles so closely against the hills of the Himālaya, that it could not be more aptly described than in the words of the poet, who calls it "a coquettish ornament on the bosom of the Himālaya." He tells us that his father Jyeṣṭhakalasa wrote a commentary on the Mahābhāṣya. His two brothers were also scholars and poets. Of himself he boasts that he has studied the Veda and the Vedāṅgas, grammar and poetics with ardent endeavour, and that the fame of his poetry spread throughout the world. "There is," says he not altogether modestly, "no village, no province, no capital town, no forest and no grove, no place consecrated to Sarasvatī, where the sage and the fool, old and young, man and woman, do not one and all recite his poetry with thrills of joy" (XVIII, 89). He went on long journeys, as is the custom of young poets and scholars in India, to various courts and places of pilgrimage. He visited the sacred cities of Mathurā, Kanauj, Allahabad and Benares. He stayed for a considerable time with a prince Karna of Dāhala, where he defeated the poet Gaṅgādhara in a literary contest and wrote a poem on Rāma. After many wanderings he reached Kalyāṇa, where King Vikramāditya conferred on him the title of Vidyāpati ("Lord of knowledge") and presented him with a blue sunshade and an elephant.

Towering far above all similar productions of Indian literature, both as a historical work and as a poem, stands the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*,¹ "the Stream of Kings," i.e., the history of the kings of Kashmir, by the poet *Kaḷhaṇa*.²

¹ For the first critical edition we are indebted to M. A. Stein (Bombay, 1892) from whom we have also a complete English translation with valuable addenda (Introduction, Notes, Appendices), which have set the value of the work in its true light as regards the history, geography and ethnography of Kashmir (Westminster 1900, 2 vols.). Cf. Winternitz in WZKM 16, 1902, 405 ff.; Oldenberg, *Aus dem alten Indien*, Berlin 1910, 81 ff.; Marie von Bunsen in "Nord und Süd," 1915, 327 ff. On Kaḷhaṇa's importance as a historian, s. Bühler, *Report*, 52 ff., lxvi ff., where the earlier studies of H. H. Wilson, A. Cunningham, Ch. Lassen and A. Troyer are also appreciated, and Shankar Pandit, *Gaṇḍavaho*, *Introd.*, p. clxi ff. Extracts with translations from Book I are given by E. Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.*, 18, 1889, 65 ff., 97 ff., and the same scholar contributes to the criticism of the text in *Ind. Ant.* 40, 1911, 97 ff.; 42, 1913, 301 ff. and *ZDMG* 69, 1915, 129 ff. Stein's edition has superseded all others, including those by A. Troyer (Calcutta 1852), and by Durgāprasāda (BSS Nos. 45, 15, 54).

² We know Kaḷhaṇa only as the author of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, but a *Kāvya* "Jaya-simhābhyudaya" is also attributed to him; s. Peterson, *OC Leyden* 1883, III, 2, 361. Kaḷhaṇa is a dialectal form of Sanskrit *Kalyāṇa*. This is the name by which he is mentioned in the *Sabha* described by Maṅkha, *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* XXV, 80 f. See M. A. Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī Transl., Introd.*, p. 12 f.

He was the son of the minister Canpaka, who played a not unimportant part at the court of King Harṣa (1089-1101). He was born probably at the beginning of the 12th century and completed his work in the year 1148. As a Brahman by birth he had the advantage of a thorough literary education. He was very well read, especially in the Mahābhārata, but had also studied Bāṇa's Harṣacarita and Bilhana's Vikramāṅkadevacarita and works like Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhitā. He shows off his literary attainments at every opportunity. By religion he was a devotee of Śiva. He delights in extolling the pious Śivaite attitude of kings, and when he says of a ruler that he was a "devotee of Śiva," he uses the expression frequently in the same way as when an Englishman describes a respectable person as a "Christian." At the same time he had great sympathy for Buddhism. He praises Aśoka and other kings on account of founding monasteries and Stūpas, shows a good knowledge of Buddhistic doctrines and speaks with reverence of Jinas and Bodhisattvas. This does not, however, prevent him from sneering at the "plague of monks," to which King Candradeva put a stop (I, 184). He was a highly cultured man of independent thought. Though bred in the court atmosphere, he was nevertheless not a courtier and not a court-poet. He judges of characters critically and independently. Many a caustic word does he let fall against the Brahmans, as also against officials. Severe in his principles, he often utters sharp words of reproof. He speaks with great contempt especially of the Dāmaras, a kind of country-squires or "Junkers," whom he calls "robbers" (dasyu) outright.

At the beginning of his work (I, 4) Kalhana expressly says that it is the business of the poet to write history :

"Who else but the poet, who like the Creator
Knows to conjure up the most delightful forms,
Is able to show bygone times as if they were the present?"

But he adds (I,7) :

“ T h a t poet alone is praiseworthy
Whose word, like the judge's,
Keeps itself removed from hate and love,
When he relates the past.”

Kalhana's presentation, even if he is perhaps not always quite impartial, does indeed invariably give the impression that he endeavours to describe not only the long-past times, but also those which he or his near relatives experienced, *sine ira et studio*, and his judgment is generally inspired by a lofty moral outlook. He is not only a poet, but a philosopher and moral preacher as well. Very often indeed he introduces moral maxims into his narrative. For him, indeed, the teaching of Dharma, morality, is the real purpose of historiography. That the good and bad deeds (karman) of former existences are the cause of success and failure in this life, is to him, as to every Indian, an irrefutable fact. His firm belief in magic and witchcraft is also absolutely in keeping with the Indian outlook on life. When he tells of kings who were ruined by magic or by the curse of a Brahman, he does so with the same faith with which he would relate that they perished by the sword or by poison. His chronology for the earlier times is often quite impossible, and in this, again, he shows himself a true Indian. It matters not a whit to him that he makes King Raṇāditya reign for 300 years ; and if we were to calculate Aśoka's date according to Kalhana, we should have to place him about 1260 B. C.¹⁾ And with true Indian credulity he also relates all the myths and legends which he found for the earlier times in his sources and in the popular tradition, including

¹⁾ See Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* Transl., I, p. 63 f. ; Fleet, in *Ind., Ant.* 30, 11 f., 14. An essay by Pandit Anand Koul in *JASB* 6, 1910, 195 ff., entitled “ History of Kashmir ” where on the basis of the *Nilamata-Purāṇa* and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* the “ History of Kashmir ” is related under 47 rulers, with such “ exact ” dates as : Gonanda I, 3120-3103 B.C., Dāmodara I, 3103-3090 B. C., etc., down to Bhagavant, 1459-1445 B. C., is significant of what some Pandits in India even to-day understand by “ history ” !

all the wonderful snake-legends which are associated with the earliest history of Kashmir.

On the other hand, however, he did not use his literary sources quite without criticism. Neither was he content with merely studying earlier works on Kashmir (in I, 11 ff. he goes as far as to mention his most important sources), but he also utilised inscriptions, genealogical tables and memories of celebrities, examined coins and architectural monuments and took an interest in folk-lore, legends and proverbs. In short, he was a genuine antiquary. It is universally admitted that Kalhana is a reliable guide for his own time and the period immediately preceding it.

The poet Kalhana is a master of presentation. He is distinguished from all other Indian ornate poets in that he knows how to draw not mere conventional models and types, but clearly outlined characters taken from real life.

In how lifelike a manner do these personages stand before us, such as the cruel and vicious, but clever and energetic queen Diddā (VI, 176 ff.), or the good-natured weakling Ananta (VII, 142 ff.)! With keen humour and bitter sarcasm he describes people of the lower classes of society who, without any special merit, rise from humble social positions to high offices and dignities. Such a figure, for instance, is the Kāyastha Bhadrēśvara, who had first been market-gardener, butcher and timber-dealer, then approached the officials and earned his bread by carrying their bags and ink-stands, until Tuṅga, the prime minister of Queen Diddā, made him his assistant, and he then later on became prime minister himself (VII, 38 ff., 106).

In many episodes, descriptions, images and similes, too, Kalhana shows himself to be an excellent poet. For instance, one should read the description of the tragic end of King Yudhiṣṭhira I at the conclusion of Book I. "Like vultures upon a carcass," do the foes pounce upon the kingdom of the weakly king. He must leave his land, whilst the enemies drag away his wives and his treasures, "just as the tree which has fallen down from the mountain-peak, is stripped quickly by the boulders even of its branches and fruits" (I, 368). Or again, one should read the description of a famine, caused by a snow-fall, "which resembled the grim laughter of the god of death" (II, 19), or the story of the wonderful and gruesome restoration to life of Sandhimati by the witches (II, 82 ff.).

Kalhana loves to weave in tales and anecdotes to characterize the rulers described by him. King Candrāpīḍa is described in Book IV (55 ff.) as a miracle of justice. Even to the lowliest of his subjects he did not deny his right. Once when he wanted to build a temple, a leather-tanner—who belongs to the despised classes in Kashmir—refused to give up his hut for the building site. When this was reported to the king, he blamed the officials for not having first asked the tanner's permission. They should either not build, or else erect the temple elsewhere. He says:

“Who would sully a pious work by taking away land from another? If we, who are to see that justice is done, perform illegal actions, who would tread the right path?”

As the tanner desires audience of the king, this is granted him. The king asks him why he is hindering the pious work, as he could get a better hut or claim money as compensation for his present hut. The tanner replies to him:

“The body of man, who is born in the cycle of existences, is like a weak suit of armour, which is held together only by the two nails “I” and “mine.” The same feeling of “I” which lives in you, who are resplendent in ornaments of bracelets and necklaces, lives also in us poor people.

What this residence with the gleaming white palaces is to Your Majesty, that is this hut, whose window is the neck of a pot, to me.¹⁾

From my birth this hut has been, like a mother, the witness of my joys and sorrows, and so I cannot bear to see it pulled down to-day.

The pain which men feel, whose home is taken forcibly away from them, can be described only by a god who has fallen out of his celestial chariot, or by a king who has lost his realm.

Nevertheless I would have to give it up, if Your Majesty were to come into my house and request me to do so, in accordance with propriety.”

Thereupon the king goes into the pariah's house, buys the hut from him, and is praised by him as a virtuous king.²⁾

1) With this compare M. A. Stein's note to IV, 70: “The tanners of Kaśmir (vātal) form a despised class and lead a gipsy sort of life. Their habitations are built of mud-covered rush-walls in which the necks of big pots are inserted to serve as windows.”

2) The word for pariah is *asprśya*, “Untouchable.” Cf. Tuhinika Chatterji in COJ I, 1934, 319ff.

But above all it is the life-like descriptions in Books VII and VIII which show us Kalhaṇa as a true poet. The narrative of the tragic death of Sūryamatī (VII, 472 ff.) is pathetic. This great woman was the consort of King Ananta. She had the feeble king and the reins of government entirely under her thumb, and even caused him to give up the throne in favour of her son Kalaśa. This, however, had evil consequences and led to conflict and fighting between father and son. Only on occasions did the clever Sūryamatī succeed in making peace for a time. After a brief reconciliation Kalaśa was again at open enmity with his father, whose position now became quite untenable. One day there is a violent scene between Ananta and his consort; he reproaches her bitterly, and even doubts that Kalaśa is his legitimate son. Thus insulted, the very passionate woman overwhelms him with abuse. Then the king deeply hurt, retires in despair and commits suicide. But now Sūryamatī resolves to follow him to death as a Satī. After having pronounced a solemn curse on those who had slandered her and brought about the dissensions, and after having purified herself by an oath from the suspicion of unfaithfulness, she rushes with a smiling face into the flames of the funeral pyre, and (VII, 479)—

“ The light of the blazing flame of fire wreathed the sky.
As though the gods had painted it with minium for her reception.”

The portraits which Kalhaṇa sketches of Kings Harṣa (VII, 869ff.) and Sussala (VIII, 482ff.) are really masterpieces of character-drawing. The poet himself calls the story of King Harṣa, as he describes it in Book VII, a kind of Rāmāyaṇa or Mahābhārata. Even the exterior of this prince is imposing. Like a contented lion he is in the habit of looking round him, his long beard hangs down in disorder, his shoulders are like those of a bull, his chest is broad, his voice deep as thunder. Even the gods would have lost their presence of mind before him. But his character is full of contradictions. He was a model of justice. Why, hanging on his palace door there were big bells in all four directions of the world, which every one who had a request, could ring.¹⁾ He was extremely generous, made handsome presents to his servants, and the beggars were enabled, through his gifts, to support others besides themselves. He and his pious consort founded monasteries and temples. Multitudes of poets and scholars were

¹⁾ VII, 879. Similar stories are told of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi of Ceylon, of a Cola king, and of Charlemagne. See above, II, p. 215, and V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar in Ann. Bh. Inst. 15, 1933-34, p. 218.

attracted to his court, among them the poet Bilhana. Harṣa himself was highly gifted, a linguist, singer and poet (VII, 942):

“ Still to-day tears roll from the eyelashes
Of even his foes, when one of his songs is sung.”

But the same Harṣa was also cruel and tyrannical, and in the course of time he grew more and more so, under the influence of evil counsellors. A whole number of relatives were victims of his murderous designs. A kind of Caesarean madness develops in him. He oppresses his subjects as if this were his profession (VII, 1204):

“ The base one strikes to earth the man who is
Just close at hand—for a slight fault,
But not the distant foe, even though he has done
Much wrong:—thus the furious dog bites the stone
Which hit him, not him who threw the stone.”

He plundered the temple treasures and even appointed an official of his own as “ Chief Superintendent of the destruction of temples.” After he had cleared all his relatives out of the way, however, he himself fell a victim to the intrigues of strangers. His troops desert him, the king wanders about, has to seek refuge with his ministers, but no one lets him enter his house. In the hut of a beggar he is finally betrayed, surrounded by soldiers and murdered. No other man, says the poet (VII, 1713f.) has ever possessed such great might and come to so shameful an end. But later, after he has described the end of Sussala, he says with grim humour (VIII, 1331) that, on account of describing many a rascal in the history of Harṣa he has grown as hardened as a coolie, but that nevertheless he is not able to mention the names of all the scoundrels who took part in the murder of Sussala.

The Rājataranṅinī is also extremely valuable as a source for the history of culture. The descriptions of Kalhana, so true to life and, at least in the last two books, actually taken from life, afford us an insight into Indian cultural conditions in the 11th and 12th centuries such as are afforded by few works of Indian literature. This work is a mine of rich information regarding the religious conditions, the sects, Kashmiri popular beliefs, snake-cult, burning of widows, etc.

It also gives us much information as to law, administration, the officials, and the like.¹⁾

Kalhana's great work was continued in the 15th and 16th centuries by chroniclers. Jonarāja wrote a *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* which continued the history of the Kashmiri princes down to the reign of Sultān Zainu-l-'ābidīn. The author died in 1459 before completing the work. His pupil Śrīvara wrote the *Jaina-Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, which deals with the period from 1459 to 1486. Śrīvara imitated Kalhana slavishly. Both these works are infinitely inferior to their prototype in every respect. The *Rājāvalīpatākā*, which was begun by Prājyabhaṭṭa and completed by his pupil Śuka, a few years after the annexation of Kashmir by the emperor Akbar (1586) is still inferior.²⁾

Only brief mention need be made of other historical or semi-historical works. In the first half of the 12th century Jalhana in the poem *Somapālāvilāsa* described the life of King Somapāla of Rājapurī near Kashmir, against whom war was made by the Kashmiri King Sussala.³⁾

The historical poem *Prthvīrājaviṇaya*, describing the victories of the Cāhumāna king Prthvīrāja of Ajmir and Dīlhi, who fell in 1193, belongs to the end of the 12th century. The poem treats King Prthvīrāja as an incarnation of Rāma, and the king's relatives are also identified with corresponding personages of the Rāma legend. As Sītā went into the earth, she could not very well be embodied in the king's consort. But one morning the king, when contemplating the royal picture-gallery, on walls of which the Rāma legend is illustrated, falls in

1) See Jolly in *Gurupūjākaumudī*, p. 84ff.; Winternitz in *WZKM* 16, 1902, 411 ff. and "Die Frau in den indischen Religionen," Leipzig 1920, p. 66 ff.

2) These chronicles have been edited together with the *Editio princeps* of Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Calcutta 1835, also by P. Peterson in *BSS*, No. 54. Cf. Bühler, Report 61; Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī Transl.*, Vol. II, p. 373 f.

3) *Rājatar.* VIII, 621 ff. Jalhana is mentioned by Mañkha as a member of the Sabbā of his brother Alampkāra (s. above, p. 66). Cf. *Krishnamacharya*, p. 44.

love with the picture of the Apsaras Tilottamā, who plays the part of Sītā in a dramatic performance arranged by Bharata, and it is this Apsaras who is embodied in the king's consort Samyogitā. The work may have been written between 1178 and 1200, A.D. but was still a favourite in the 14th and 15th centuries.¹⁾

The learned Jaina monk H e m a c a n d r a proved himself at the same time a poet, a "historian," and a grammarian, in two languages, in his great epic D v y ā ś r a y a - K ā v y a , "The poem with a Two-fold Object,"²⁾ namely that of teaching Sanskrit grammar and relating the story of the Caulukyas of Aṇhilavāḍ. It consists of a Sanskrit and a Prākṛit part. The Sanskrit poem in 20 cantos, after a long description of the city of Aṇahillapura (Aṇhīlvāḍ), treats of the Caulukya rulers from Mūlarāja down to Karna, the father of Jayasimha (Cantos I-X), of the reign of Jayasimha (Cantos XI to XV), and finally (Cantos XVI-XX) of the martial deeds and pious works of Kumārapāla. At the same time it is intended to serve as an illustration of the first seven sections of Hemacandra's own Sanskrit grammar. The Prākṛit poem, also called K u m ā r a p a l a c a r i t a , deals in 8 cantos only with the life and deeds of Kumārapāla, illustrating at the same time the author's Prākṛit grammar. Kumārapāla is here extolled chiefly as a pious Jaina, who forbade bloody sacrifices and trading in flesh, constructed Jaina shrines, took part in grand processions, etc. The last two cantos contain moral and religious reflections. The work cannot have been written before 1163

1) Cf. Bühler, Report 62 ff.; J. Morison in WZKM 7, 1893, 188 ff.; Har Bilas Sarda, JRAS 1913, 259 ff.; S. K. Belvalkar in Modi Mem. Vol., p. 331 ff. There is only one MS. of the work, and in it the name of the poet has not been preserved. But Belvalkar, i.e., believes that he can gather from a fragment that the name of the author was J a y ā n a k a . As late as in the 15th century, Jonarāja wrote a commentary on this work.

2) The Prākṛita Dvyāśraya Kāvya, with the commentary of Pūrṇakalaśagapi, has been edited by Shankar Pandurang Pandit in BSS No. 60, 1900; the (Sanskrit) Dvyāśraya Kāvya, by A. V. Kathavate in BSS 69, 1915 and 76, 1921, with the commentary of Abhayatilakagapi. Extracts from the Sanskrit poem are given by J. Burgess in Ind. Ant. 4, 1875, 71 ff., 110 ff., 232 ff., 265 ff. Cf. Bühler, Hemachandra, pp. 18 f., 43.

A.D., for we see from the conclusion that Kumārapāla was still living and at the height of his fame, when the poem was written.

The *Kīrtikaumudī*,¹⁾ a biography of Vastupāla, minister of the Vāghelā princes Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala, by *Someśvara deva*, who lived in Gujarat between 1179 and 1262, deals with the history of the Vāghelā dynasty of Gujarat. The poet who describes himself as the high priest of the kings of Gujarat, is also the author of several inscriptions which are dated 1241 and 1255 A.D. One of these inscriptions contains verses from the *Kīrtikaumudī*. Though the work is only a panegyric on a generous minister who has literary interests, it is not without poetical value, and also contributes to our knowledge of the history of the Caulukyās.²⁾ Many a side-light is thrown on the life of the high-class Indians in the 13th century. *Someśvaradeva* is also the author of the romantic epic *Surathotsava*³⁾ in 15 cantos. It is true that this poem treats a fairy-tale theme; but it perhaps has a historical background, for in the last canto the poet gives his family history, as is customary in historical epics and romances, and concludes with verses in praise of Vastupāla. The last four or five verses of each of the 11 cantos are written by *Amaracandra Sūri*, and in them Vastupāla and his son *Viśaladeva* are glorified.⁴⁾

The life of Vastupāla is also the theme of a *Vastupāla-carita* by *Jinaharṣa*. This Vastupāla, famous as a statesman, warrior, philanthropist and builder of Jain temples and great libraries in which he collected as many literary works as possible, and as a patron of poets, also made his mark as a poet himself. Verses by him are cited in the anthologies, and he is also the

1) Edited by A. V. Kathavate, B.S. No. 25, 1883.

2) Cf. Bühler in Ind. Ant. 6, 1877, 136 ff.; Ep. Ind. 1, 20 ff.

3) Edited in Km. 73, 1902.

4) Amaracandra was also the collaborator of Arisimpha in the *Kāvyakalpalatā*, a manual of poetics. Cf. Bühler, *Das Sukṛtasamkīrtana des Arisimpha*, p. 4 f.

author of an epic *Narāṇārāyaṇānanda*,¹⁾ the subject-matter of which is the friendship of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa and the abduction of Subhadrā by Arjuna, but which is more remarkable for its poetic descriptions. It was written between 1220 and 1230 A.D. As a poet Vastupāla calls himself Vasantapāla. The same minister Vastupāla, who was a pious Jain, is the hero of the somewhat later work *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana* by *Arisimha*, also belonging to the 13th century. This "Praise of Good Deeds" is an epic in eleven cantos, a rather mediocre poem, but not unimportant from the point of view of the history of Gujarat.²⁾ Whilst the *Kīrtikaumudī* and *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana* were written during the lifetime of Vastupāla, *Bālacandra Sūri's Vasantavilāsa-Mahākāvya*³⁾ already mentions the death of Vastupāla. This poet, however, was also a contemporary of the great minister. He sings in his poem of the victorious battle of Vastupāla, his pilgrimages to the Jinistic shrines of Śatruñjaya and Girnar and his immense generosity to both Brahmans and ascetics. The death of the minister is described allegorically as his marriage with Sadgati (the way of the good), the daughter of the god Dharma, who longed for him because she had heard his fame sung in heaven.

The historical epics are not always devoted to rulers or ministers. Thus, for instance, *Sarvānanda's Jagadūccarita* is the biography of a simple merchant, who deserved well of his native town in Gujarat by having the city-walls rebuilt, and during a terrible famine in the years 1256-1258 A.D. doing much to relieve the distress. Though this work, which

1) Edited in GOS No. 2, 1916.

2) Cf. G. Bühler, *Das Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana* of Arisimha, SWA 1889. Translated into English by E. H. Burgess in Ind. Ant. 31, 1902, 477 ff. An edition of this work appeared in the Śrī Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā Series No. 51, 1917.

3) Edited with Introduction etc. by C. D. Dalal in GOS No. 7, 1917. See on Vastupāla also above II, 547, 591. Bālacandra is a pupil of Haribhadra Sūri of the Candragaccha. He is also the author of a drama. See above, II, 548.

consists of seven cantos, is called a " great epic " (mahākāvya), it nevertheless shows the same defects of language, poetics and prosody as other Sanskrit poems by Jain monks of the later centuries. The writer probably lived 80 to 100 years after the events described, in the second half of the 14th century. The rich merchant Jagaḍū is first of all the model of a Jain layman and is glorified as such. Miraculous tales and legends are woven into the story of this merchant exactly as if it were the life-story of a king or a saint. Bühler has demonstrated, however, that there is also a nucleus of history in the work.¹⁾

In the second half of the 14th century the poetess Gaṅgādevī wrote a historical epic, the Madhurāvijaya or Vīrakamparāyacarita,²⁾ which is of some importance for the history of Vijayanagara. The poetess who endeavours to write in the style of Kālidāsa, was the queen of prince Kampana who ruled at Conjeeveram about 1367 A.D., and she describes in her Mahākāvya the heroic deeds of her husband, his victorious expeditions against King Campa of Kāñcī, and against the Mohammedan chief of Madura (Madhurārājya).

The historical poem Hammīrakāvya by the Jain Nayacandra, in which the heroic deeds of Hammīra who distinguished himself in the war against the Muslims are related, was written in the 15th century. This poem is instinct with bitter hatred towards the Muslims, when it describes the tragic end of Hammīra. Before he dies a hero's death, his wives and daughters burn themselves.³⁾

1) Indian Studies, I, The Jagaḍūcharita of Sarvānanda, a historical romance from Gujarāt, SWA, 1892.

2) Edited by Paṇḍits G. Harihara Śāstrī and V. Śrīnivāsa Śāstrī, Trivandrum, 1916. The edition is based on a single palm-leaf manuscript which unfortunately shows a great number of lacunae. Another historical poem by a lady is the Raghunāthābhyudaya by Rāmabhadrāmbā, edited by T. R. Chintamani, University of Madras, 1934. The hero of the Kāvya is King Raghunātha Nāyaka who ruled at Tanjore in the first quarter of the 16th century.

3) Edited by N. J. Kirtane, Bombay 1879 ; also the same in Ind. Ant., 8, 1879, 55 ff.

*Rudrakavi's Rāṣṭraudhavaṃśakāvya*¹⁾ is a historical epic written in the 16th century. In 20 cantos it deals with the history of the Bāgulas of Mayūragiri, from the founder of the dynasty Rāṣṭraudha down to Nārāyaṇa Shah, the poet's patron.

About 1540 *Mādhava*, a son of Abhayacandra, a court official of the Bīghelā Rāja Vīrabhānu, wrote the *Vīrabhānūdaya-Kāvya*, a poem in 12 cantos, which contains dates for the history of Rewah in the Moghul period.²⁾

The *Bhāvavilāsa*³⁾ by *Nyāyavācāspati Rudra*, brother of Viśvanātha Tarkapañcānana and son of Vidyānivāsa, is a panegyrical poem on King Bhāvasimha, a contemporary of the emperor Akbar.

Lastly, the "historical" poems also include biographies, like the *Rāsikamarana* written in the 16th century, an epic in 18 cantos by *Raghunātha*, in which the life and work of the Vaiṣṇava teacher Durvāsa is sung.⁴⁾

The number of historical epics which have come down to us is comparatively small. The reason why more of these works have not been preserved is probably not that there were not more of them, but that the interest in the ancient myths and heroic legends was always greater than that in earthly rulers, and therefore these works—especially if a dynasty had died out—were no longer copied.⁵⁾ Many chronicles were also most-

1) Edited by Embar Krishnamacharya with an Introd. by C. D. Dalal in GSO No. 5, 1917.

2) Cf. *Hirananda Shastri* in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* No. 21 and *Barnett* in *JRAS* 1927, 871.

3) Edited in *Km.*, Part II, 1886, 111-128. This Rudra is also the author of a *Bhramarādūtam*, of which there is a manuscript dated 1538 A.D. Cf. *Haraprasād Śāstrī* in *JASB* 6, 1910, 311 ff.

4) See *Aufrecht*, *Bodl. Cat.* I. 148 ff.

5) To the earlier works which have been lost there belongs also, for instance, an epic *Bhuvanābhaya*, which Kalhaṇa (*Rājataranginī* IV, 705) mentions with praise, by the poet Śaṅkuka, who, as Kalhaṇa says, "attracted the minds of the wise, as the moon the ocean." Verses by a poet Śaṅkuka are also quoted in the anthologies. See

probably destroyed during the demolition of temples and palaces by the Muslim conquerors. The Sanskrit works mentioned here do not, however, by any means exhaust the historical literature of the Indians, for many chronicles were also written in the vernaculars. There are chronicles in Hindī and Rājasthānī from the 8th to the 18th centuries, in Bengali of the 12th and 13th centuries and in Tamil from the 6th to the 12th centuries. There are also Singhalese chronicles from the 12th to the 18th centuries.¹⁾

The epic was no doubt the most suitable medium in which to glorify the deeds of a ruler. Nevertheless some chronicles must also have been written in prose. The *Kṣitīśavamśāvalīcarita*,²⁾ relating the history of the ancestors of King Kṛṣṇacandra of Navadvīpa in Bengal, their battles against the Muslims and the destinies of individual rulers, as well as all manner of court tales, anecdotes and even fairy-tales, is a modern prose work of this nature. This chronicle, probably written in the middle of the 18th century, goes down to the year 1728, the year of Kṛṣṇacandra's accession to the throne, but breaks off so abruptly that it can hardly be regarded as complete. The work is written in simple prose; it is only the use of a few very long compounds that entitles it to be accounted as ornate prose.

Peterson, Subh., 127. But there seem to have existed several poets of this name. At all events Śaṅkuka, the son of Mayūra (s. G. P. Quackenbos, *Poems of Mayūra*, New York, 1917, p. 50 ff.) cannot be the author of the *Bhuvanābhyudaya*, as this cannot have been written before 850 A.D.

¹⁾ See H. Goetz in ZB, 6, p. 139 ff. and N. N. Law, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 152 f.

²⁾ A Chronicle of the Family of Rāja Kṛṣṇachandra of Navadvīpa, Bengal. Ed. and translated by W. Pertsch, Berlin 1852.

*Lyric Poetry*¹⁾

The earliest Indian poetry known to us is lyrical. The hymns to the gods, the sacrificial songs and incantations of the Veda are the earliest Indian literature we possess, but even in this religious poetry many a worldly note may be heard. The songs to Uṣas in the Ṛgveda and the love-incantations in the Atharvaveda at times remind us of the later erotic lyrics, and the battle-incantations of the Atharvaveda sound almost like ancient war lyrics. Centuries later, in Buddhist literature, among the songs of the monks and nuns, we meet gems of lyrical poems full of deep feeling, religious fervour and that ardent feeling for nature that has ever been a special feature of Indian poetry. An ancient love-poem has even come down to us in a Buddhist Sutta, and we were able to discover traces of a drinking-song in a Jātaka.²⁾ In the Aṇuogadāra Sutta of the Jain Canon a few short love-songs are cited as examples of moods in poetry. Challenge-songs to the accompaniment of the lute after the style of the German "Schnaderhüpfel" have been preserved for us by the Jain monk Hemacandra in a narrative of the Paṛiśiṣṭa-Parvan.³⁾

The history of Indian metrics shows that love-lyric was not only cultivated, but also that it attained a high degree of perfection and elaborateness at a very early epoch. In the earliest manual of metrics by Piṅgala we already come across a large number of

1) Specimens of Indian lyrics in English translation are given by Susil Kumar De, *Treatment of Love in Sanskrit Literature*, Calcutta 1929. In German translation by Th. Aufrecht, *Blüthen aus Hindustan*, Bonn 1873, and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis indischer Dichter* in ZDMG, 36, 1882, 361 ff. and in *Ind. Stud.*, 17, 1885, 163 ff. (verses of Bhāsa, Rāmīlaka, and others, in the anthologies); L. von Schroeder, *Mangoblüthen*, Stuttgart 1892; Joh. Hertel, *Indische Gedichte*, Stuttgart 1900; J. J. Meyer, *Kāvya-samgraha*, Leipzig, Lotz-Verlag; *Indische Gedichte aus vier Jahrtausenden in deutscher Nachbildung* von Otto von Glasenapp, mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen von Helmut von Glasenapp, Berlin 1925. See also P. E. Parolini, *Poeti d'amore nell' India*, Firenze 1900.

2) See above, II, pp. 43, 100 ff., 143; *Dighanikāya*, Sutta 21; Jātaka No. 512.

3) See above, II, 473; A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, 16, 154 ff.; Hertel, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen aus Hemacandras Paṛiśiṣṭa-parvan*, p. 204 ff.

ornate metres, and the names of many of these metres prove the existence of an extensive literature of love-lyrics ; for the names of metres such as Kanakaprabhā "Golden-gleaming," Kuḍmaladantī "Bud-toothed," Cāruhāsini "Sweetly-smiling," Vasantatilakā "Ornament of Spring" and the like, can scarcely be explained unless they had first been used in love-songs in praise of beautiful women." Further proof that it was the love-lyric in which ornate verse first developed is furnished by the fact that it is this branch of poetry which has the greatest diversity of metres. Evidence of the existence of Sanskrit love-lyrics at the time of Patañjali is afforded by the beautiful stanza, a fragment of which is already contained in the Mahābhāṣya :²⁾

"Relax your close embrace, leave your beloved.
You slender maid, shy at the first union :—
Rosy dawn is here, the cocks proclaim it loudly."

The earliest love-songs were, however, surely not composed in Sanskrit, but in the popular languages ; hence a large part of the Indian lyric poetry belongs to Prākṛit literature. And yet but few traces of real folk-songs in ancient Indian literature have come down to us in the Prākṛit song-poetry. The great bulk even of the Prākṛit lyric decidedly belongs to ornate court poetry as does also the whole of the Sanskrit lyric. The ornate metres arose only out of the latter, whilst the popular and the Prākṛit poetry primarily used the simple Āryā stanza, the real metre for singing.³⁾

1) See A. Weber, Ind. Stud., 8, 172 f. ; H. Jacobi in ZDMG, 38, 1884, 615 f. ; 48, 1894, 415.

2) On Pāṇini, 1, 3, 43 : *varatanu sampravadanti kukkurāḥ*, also quoted in Ujvaladatta's Commentary on the Uṇādi-Sūtras, I, 87. Theodor Aufrecht in his edition of this Commentary, London 1895, p. 150, gives the complete stanza according to Nārāyaṇa's Commentary on Kedarabhaṭṭa's Vṛttaratnākara with a pretty German translation. The verse also occurs in Bhoja's Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa (Weber, Ind. Stud., 8, 197). In Kṣemendra's Aucitya-vicāracarcā 24 the verse is attributed to Kumāradāsa, s. P. Peterson in JBBAS 16, 1895, p. 170 ; S. K. De, Treatment of Love, p. 13.

3) The Āryā was first used in Prākṛit poetry and thence penetrated into Sanskrit poetry ; s. Jacobi in ZDMG, 40, 1886, 336 ff. The existence of lyric poetry in Old Prākṛit is proved by an inscription ; s. Lüders, Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen, p. 62.

Fortunately a book of songs in Prākṛit has come down to us in the *S a t t a s a ī*¹⁾ or "Seven hundred Stanzas" by *H ā l a S ā t a v ā h a n a*, which gives us a good idea of how the people in ancient India sang of the joys and sorrows of love. Just as Prākṛit, though not a popular language, was a literary language formed on the model of, and in conscious imitation of, the spoken popular dialects, these Prākṛit songs, though not folk-songs in the real sense of the word, are nevertheless creations of Indian ornate poets in imitation of the popular models, and they strove not only to depict the life, especially the love-life of the villages, but really to reflect the feelings and moods of the country girls and peasant boys, the herdsmen and cow-herdresses, the gardener's wife, the miller's wife, the hunter and the artisan. In this book of songs, as the German poet *A. Wilbrandt* says, "the calm and intimate life of the Indian people, especially in the village and in nature, is depicted in songs and is sung; for these quatrains were intended to be sung. Every aspect of scenery, the seasons, the delights and terrors of the weather play their part; but the needs of the heart are never ignored. Extreme tenderness and extreme voluptuousness are frankly expressed; tenderness is predominant. Sometimes, but not often, it is a man's voice speaking; generally it is a woman's; old and young women, the woman friend, the mother, the daughter, the aunt. They speak to the youth, to the loving woman, to the other maidens, to their own hearts. Though they speak of many things, yet their one theme is love."

1) Prākṛit *Sattasāī* is *Saptasatī* in Sanskrit. The titles *Gāthāsaptasatī*, *Gāthākośa*, *Saptasātaka* also occur. First edited with a literal German translation by *A. Weber*, AKM, V, 1870; VII, 1881; cf. ZDMG, 26, 1872, 735 ff.; 28, 1874, 345 ff.; Ind. Stud., 16, 1883, and Deutsche Rundschau, Vol. 42, 1885, p. 223 ff. The text edited with *Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭa*'s Commentary in Km., 21, 1889; 2nd edition, 1911. Cf. *Keith*, HSL, 223 ff. and Ind. Off. Cat., Nos. 7218-7224. Selected verses have been translated into English by *S. K. De*, Treatment of Love, pp. 20-26; into German by *H. Brunnhofer*, Ueber den Geist der indischen Lyrik, Leipzig 1882, p. 24 ff.; *Gustav Meyer*, Essays und Studien, Strassburg 1885, p. 299 ff.; *Adolf Wilbrandt*, in "Neue Freie Presse," Vienna, April 19, 1899, and "Westernmanns Illustrierte Monatshefte" Vol. 87, 1900.

As a rule each verse is a complete whole, only here and there two or three such verses combine to form a song. In the most concise form, in a few words, a mood is expressed, lament is made or the bliss of the greatest delight of love is depicted. Very frequently a lightning sketch from real life¹ is drawn with but a few strokes. For instance we hear the words of a loving woman who is expressing her love-sorrow or her longing. She begs the moon to touch her with the same ray-hands with which it has touched her distant beloved. As in the whole of Indian lyric poetry,¹ the lament for the absent husband or beloved occurs again and again in these songs; likewise the yearning of him, who has gone on his travels, for his distant beloved. Thus a wanderer calls to the cloud to thunder over him as much as it likes, but to be sure not to kill his beloved. A woman counts upon the fingers of her hands and feet, how long the beloved has already been away, and weeps because there are no more fingers to count further. A young wife laments:

"Tomorrow morning, I'm told, my hard-hearted beloved is to depart: Grow, oh sublime night, that there need never be a morrow."
(Km. Ed. 1, 46; Weber 46.)

Another turns to her woman friend:

"Only today, just this one day, dear friend, do not prevent me from weeping. But tomorrow, when he is gone and if I am not dead then, I shall weep no longer." (Km. Ed. 6, 2; W. 503.)

What delicacy breathes in the following picture: The beloved husband has returned, but the wife does not adorn herself to receive him—so as not to hurt her poor neighbour, whose beloved is still on his travels. Eternal separation, too, is the theme of many a sad little song. A young farmer whose wife has died, contemplates the scene of past joys like hiding-places robbed of their treasure. The deepest thought is expressed in these short lines:

"When of two, who have grown old together in the same joys and sorrows and in whom in the course of time love has grown stronger, one dies, then this one lives, dead is the other." (Km. Ed. 2, 42; W. 142.)²

1) The same is still the case with the present-day popular poetry of the Indians; s. F. Rosen, *Die Indarsabbā des Amānat*, Leipzig 1892, p. 28, where the beautiful modern Indian song is cited as an example:

"In search of gold my beloved went, and desolate was my home; He found no gold and returned no more, and silver was my hair."

2) Weber compares with this verse the beautiful saying in Bhavabūti's *Mālatīmādhava*: "He is not dead, who lives in the thoughts of a beloved one."

But the absent husband is not always an object of lamentation for the wife he has left at home, as the following little song shows :

“ This is a night enwrapped in dense darkness. My husband is away. The house is empty. Watch then, oh neighbour, lest they steal me away.” (Km. Ed. 4. 35; W. 338.)

The following song, too, sings of secret love :

“ Oh maiden, who goes confidingly to secret joys of love, wander not about in the darkness ! You will be seen in the black night ; like the flame of a light (through the radiance of your beauty).” (Km. Ed. 5, 15; W. 415.)

Needless to say, many songs also make mention of the quarrelling and sulking of the lovers. Here are two examples :

“ At least now, be kind again, O beautiful one ! There is plenty of time left for quarrelling ; but this moonlit festive night, O gazelle-eyed one, speeds fast away.” (Km. Ed. 5, 66; W. 466.)

“ I wanted to look at him with a frowning face, scold him, turn away from him, do all that you tell me, friend !—If I only did not have to look at him !” (W. 743, not in Km. Ed.)

A picture charming in its simplicity is sung by the following verse (Km. Ed. 5, 98; W. 498), which I translate almost word for word :

“ He looks deep into her face,
In his gaze she is absorbed :
So they both stand in perfect bliss,
As if they two alone were in the world.”

In other songs the pleasure of love and the beauty of women are painted in the most glowing colours, often far too voluptuous for Western taste. The bosom swelling from the bodice is compared to the moon breaking forth from the clouds. The breasts of the miller's wife, powdered with flour, are like two swans which have hidden beneath a lotus, her face. These songs, too, often speak of biting and scratching. The crescent moon in the sky veiled by the red light of evening, is like the nail-mark on the bosom of the young wife, shimmering through the red silk garment. Then again, pictures of family life pass before our eyes. The infuriated wife is compelled to smile when her little son climbs on to the back of her husband who has fallen at her feet. A pregnant woman is asked after her health ; she only gives her beloved husband an affectionate

glance. Delightedly a woman shows her husband the child's first little teeth. In some verses ¹⁾ reference is made to the burning of widows. But if there is a great preponderance of rustic scenery in these images, there is nevertheless no lack of songs which allude to harem life and the free love-life of the "man about town," or sing in witty fashion of the wiles of unfaithful wives.

Besides these pictures from life, other songs give us pictures from nature. In four short lines suggestive pictures of the rainy season or of the autumn are sketched, or a summer noon is described, or sweet pictures of spring pass before our eyes. We see bees swarming around flowers and blossoms. We experience a storm with the poet. Pictures of animal life are not infrequent. We see a love-sick pair of elephants, a bull and a cow as lovers, a monkey and its female in a comical situation. Wounded by the hunter's arrow, a female antelope looks out for her beloved for a long while. Now a peacock drinks the rain-drops hanging from the tips of the blades of grass, now crows are seated immovable with bent necks, letting their wings hang down after the rain. Often the image is only a comparison. The clouds disperse :—the Vindhya hill strips off its mantle. Or the earth, adorned with yellow blossoms, looks as if monks (with yellow cowls) had sunk to the ground to worship the Buddha.²⁾

A number of a p h o r i s m s are also found in the Sattasai. It is aptly said in one of these aphorisms that a miser is just as little benefited by his wealth as a wanderer is by his own shadow. Other sayings lament the wickedness of the world. Thus one says that it is no wonder that good people are so rare in the world: for the world is not so full of flamingoes as of crows. Another envies the deaf and the blind (Km. Ed. 7, 95 ; W. 704):

" Happy are the deaf and the blind,
They alone truly live in the world:
For they hear not the harsh speeches,
Nor see the prosperity of the evil-doer."

Lastly there are also a number of verses in the book, which are obviously torn out of some context, either belonging to an epic or dramatic

¹⁾ Km. Ed., V, 7: 49; VII, 33. W. 407, 449, 635.

²⁾ The commentators are at pains to attribute an erotic meaning or secondary meaning to each of these verses, even when they are not in the least erotic. There is no reason for our agreeing with them in every instance, though no doubt they are right in some cases.

poem, like the verses which have reference to the love between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā or between Siva and Pārvatī, or which tell of captive women awaiting rescue by a hero ; or they belong to a narrative (as a kind of fairy-tale verses), such as when there is mention of women held in captivity by robbers, or of an unfaithful wife who feigns a scorpion-sting, in order to be taken to the house of her paramour, a doctor.

These motley contents of the “ seven hundred stanzas,” if nothing else, show that we are confronted not with the work of a poet but with that of a collector. On the other hand the songs evince so strikingly unified a character, that Hāla, to whom the book is attributed, should in no wise be regarded as a mere compiler of an anthology, but rather an editor full of enthusiasm for popular poetry and endowed with poetic talent himself, who made the selection with art and good taste, probably gave the verses their final poetic form, and possibly added something here and there with his own pen. This would explain the introductory verse 3 : “ Out of a vast number of song-verses Hāla the friend of poets has made the book of seven hundred beautiful (literally : provided with alamkāras or means of adornment) verses.”¹⁾ Bāṇa, too, saw more than a compiler in Hāla, when he says in the introduction to his *Harṣacarita* (verse 14) : “ Sātavāhana (*i. e.*, Hāla) has created an imperishable, fine²⁾ treasure with his beautiful songs written in pure metres, as (he created for himself in his kingly capacity an imperishable treasure, not originating in the village) with gems (of pure genuineness).³⁾ A legend has it that Bhāratī, the goddess of poetry, once sojourned for a day and a half in the camp of Sātavāhana's

1) The verse is found in all the recensions. It is true that most of the recensions also have the verse (Km. Ed., V., 67 ; W., 467) in which the generosity of Sālāhana (Sātavāhana) is praised, and which would rather seem to indicate that the collection was made for a Sātavāhana prince.

2) The expression *agrāmya*, “ not of the village,” has been used intentionally to show that the poems, though they have reference to village life, are nevertheless not “ boorish, coarse.”

3) The verse has a double meaning, hence the words which have been put in brackets in the translation.

army and inspired everyone down to the elephant drivers and stable-boys to compose little Prākṛit songs, from which the king selected his 700 verses. It is perhaps not too daring to assume that the meaning of this legend is merely that the king actually collected songs from the lips of the people, selected 700 verses from them and gave them a literary form.¹⁾

Hāla appears in the Purāṇas²⁾ as the seventeenth in the list of the Āndhra—or Andhrabhṛtya—princes, who all added the family names Sātavāhana or Śālivāhana to their own names, and who ruled in the Deccan from the middle of the 3rd century B.C. down to the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.³⁾ As Hāla⁴⁾ appears in about the middle of the list, he must have

1) *Peterson* (Kādambarī Ed., Introd., p. 74 ff.) supports the view that Hāla himself must have composed the verses of Sattasaī. In the commentaries written in later centuries the Sattasaī is treated altogether as an anthology, and the names of the authors of the separate verses are mentioned. And yet the manuscripts diverge greatly as regards these names; most of them give only a few names for the beginning of the work, and then stop. The commentaries of the Vulgata give 112 names, Bhuvanapāla 384. In the Km. edition, in the gāthānukramanikā the names of the supposed authors are also given, but in many cases the name is missing, and often Hāla himself is named as the author. In my opinion these names are quite unreliable. See also *Weber*, Ind. Stud., 16, 26 f. The opposite view is held by *Pischel* (Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, para. 13), who concludes from the given names of the poets and poetesses "that the Sattasaī presupposes a very rich literature in Prākṛit, in which women took part too."

2) See *F. E. Pargiter*, The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, Oxford, 1913, pp. 36, 71.

3) According to *R. G. Bhandarkar* (Early History of the Dekkan, 2nd Ed., Bombay 1895, 31 ff., 36 ff.) the Āndhras ruled from 73 B.C. until 218 A.D.; according to *Smith*, ZDMG, 56, 1902, 649 ff. and Early History, 217 ff., 229 ff., from about 240 or 230 B.C. until 225 A.D.; according to *K. P. Jayaswal* in JBORS, 16, 1930, p. 258 ff., 278 ff., from 213 B.C. until 238 A.D. But the history of the Sātavāhanas is very uncertain and the chronology still more so. See also Cambridge History, I, 529 f., 593 ff. *Subha Rao* in QJARS, II, 61 ff., *V. Prabhakara Sastri* in QJARS, IV, 25 ff., *S. Srikanta Sastri* and *V. S. Bakhle* in QJMS, 17, 1927, 334 ff.; 18, 69 ff. According to Buddhist tradition a Sātavāhana was the friend of Nāgārjuna, see above, II, 343 n., 347 f. There is no foundation whatsoever for the assumption of *K. G. Sankar* (Ann. Bh. Inst, 12, 1931, p. 310 ff.) that the Sattasaī should be attributed to the Āndhra King Simuka in the 1st century B.C.

4) *Weber*, who places the time of the origin of the Sattasaī in the 3rd century A.D. at the earliest and the 7th century A.D. at the latest, is of opinion that Hāla, as the word means "ploughman," first obtained his name owing to the collection of these rustic poems. *Smith* (ZDMG, 56, 660 f.) places him about 60 or 70 A.D.

reigned in the 1st or 2nd century A.D. The fact that the inscriptions of the Āndhra kings are in Prākṛit almost throughout, speaks for the authenticity of the legend which associates this book of Prākṛit songs with the Sātavāhana dynasty.¹⁾ The frequent mention of the Vindhya hills and of the Godāvarī also speaks for the book's having arisen in the north-eastern part of the Deccan, and it is precisely there that the Andhras ruled. The history of the literary Prākṛit dialects, however, makes it seem likely that the verses written in Māhārāṣṭrī did not originate before the 3rd century B.C.²⁾ Nevertheless the Sattasaī is the earliest work in the Māhārāṣṭrī dialect, which dialect Daṇḍin in his manual of poetics already termed the "best Prākṛit." And Māhārāṣṭrī is originally the dialect of Mahārāṣṭra, the land of the Marathas, in whose capital city Pratiṣṭhāna the Āndhra kings resided.

It is evidence of the exceptional popularity enjoyed by the Sattasaī that six or seven different recensions of the work have come down to us, differing not only in the textual form and the order in which the verses come, but also in the textual subject-

¹⁾ Rājasekhara (Kāvya-mīmāṃsā in GOS, No. 1, p. 50) relates that Sātavāhana, King of Kuntala, ordered the exclusive use of Prākṛit in his harem. Later on all Prākṛit poetry was connected with the name of Sātavāhana, just as Vikramāditya was made the central figure of Sanskrit literature. Now as Sātavāhana (or Śalivāhana) is the family name of all the Āndhra kings, all the legends which are told of the King Sātavāhana (e.g., in the Kathāsaritsāgara and in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi) are devoid of historico-chronological value. Jinistic writers tell many wonderful legends of Sātavāhana and make a pious Jain of him. See Ras S. V. Mandlik in JBRAS, 10, 1873, 127 ff. But the author or compiler of the Sattasaī cannot possibly have been a Jain, for the opening verse (maṅgala) is addressed to Paśupati and Gaurī. For this reason alone the hypothesis of H. Jacobi (Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī, Leipzig 1886, p. XV) that Hāla is identical with Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna, who is said to have effected a change in the ecclesiastical calendar of the Jains in 467 A.D., must be rejected, the more so as nothing else is known of a Sātavāhana at this period.

²⁾ See H. Lüders, Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen, Berlin 1911, p. 64 and A. C. Woolner, Introduction to Prakrit, Calcutta, 1917, p. 74. The formation of the sounds in Māhārāṣṭrī was considerably influenced by the fact that it was primarily used in verses intended for singing (gāhā-gāthā). In the dramas, too, the song stanzas which are inserted are always in Māhārāṣṭrī. See G. Garrez in JA, s. 6, t. XX, 1872, 197 ff., Pischel, Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen, para. 2 and 12 f. and Konow in Ind. Ant., 32, 1908, 180 ff.

matter itself. Only 430 verses occur in all the recensions. / To all appearances it was only in the hands of the copyists, who gathered Prākṛit verses from anywhere and everywhere, and supplemented incomplete manuscripts by their own collections, that the work, which originally had a more uniform character and the stamp of a book, and was in a certain sense an independent treatise, assumed more and more the character of a variegated anthology of Prākṛit verses. So when we speak of the Sattasaī as an ancient work, which perhaps originated in the 3rd century A.D., we mean only the original basis of the text. At the most, the verses which occur in all the recensions, can lay claim to this high antiquity.¹⁾

The popularity of the work as well as the uncertainty of the text is confirmed not only by the many different manuscripts and recensions, but also by the numerous quotations from Hāla in the works on poetics ; for, of the many quotations which occur in these works, a good half cannot be traced in any of the recensions of the text known to us.²⁾ And yet the manner in which the writers on poetics cite Hāla, though he is no Sanskrit poet, is in itself evidence of the high esteem which the Sattasaī enjoyed in the minds of the authorities on poetic art.³⁾

The dramas and anthologies prove that there was a lyric poetry in Prākṛit even at a later period. In his Prākṛit grammar H e m a c a n d r a has preserved for us a few pretty little songs in the Apabhraṃśa dialect.⁴⁾ We do not know of what period

1) On the great antiquity of the Prākṛit lyric in general, see also Konow in GGA, 1894, 476 f. and Karpūramañjarī, p. 192 f.

2) See Weber's Edition, Introduction, p. XLIII ff. A list of the Alamkāras used in the Sattasaī is given by Weber, Ind. Stud., 16, 202 ff.

3) Anandavardhana is particularly fond of selecting his examples of hidden hints, irony, etc., from the Sattasaī; s. Dhvanyāloka I, 4; II, 35; III, 1, 16; 39.

4) R. Pischel, Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃśa, AGGW, N. F., Vol. V, No. 4, Berlin 1902. In the Chandonuśāsana Hemacandra composed the Apabhraṃśa songs himself, s. H. D. Velankar in Ann. Bh. Inst. 14, 1932-33, p. 15. On Apabhraṃśa lyrics of Jains and Buddhists, see H. Jacobi, Sanatkumāracaritam (ABayA, XXXI, 2, 1921), p. XVIII ff.; and above, Vol. II, pp. 528, 625.

they are; but in character they differ so little from the songs in the Sattasaī, that I insert a few specimens here in translation :

“ I entreat you, child, cast no side-glance at me !
Like barbed arrow it pierces straight the heart and kills.”

“ Even though my beloved wrong me sorely,
Bring him to me all the same. Even though the house is burnt
By fire — even then we cannot live without fire.”

“ That my beloved was killed in battle
As a hero, could not be helped, it seems.
I should have been ashamed before the maidens,
Sister, had he returned home defeated.”

“ Vyāsa, the great sage, says it, and so say
All the sacred books : In the Ganges' sacred
Stream they daily bathe, who at the feet
Of their mothers bend in deepest humility.”

The Sanskrit lyric developed, not out of the Prākṛit lyric, but parallel with it. As we know the famous Buddhist songs of praise of Aśvaghoṣa only from hearsay, those of Mātṛceta only in fragments,¹⁾ and as but few verses of Bhāsa's songs have come down to us in the anthologies, our first great Sanskrit lyric poet is Kālidāsa. In his epic and dramatic poems Kālidāsa is more or less a lyric poet, and probably the best of his song-poetry is contained in some portions of his epics, above all in the dramas. Kālidāsa is ever most essentially an artist when he gives us descriptions of landscapes in which nature's moods blend with human feelings. His most famous lyric poem is, however, Meghadūta, “the poem of the cloud as a messenger,”²⁾ which the Indians count among their

1) See above, II, 257, 266, 270 ff.

2) That is the exact title (*meghadūtaṃ kāvyam*). The translation which is usual in Europe “The Cloud-Messenger” is inexact. The title Meghasamudesa, “The Message of the Cloud” is also frequently found. Edited with English metrical translation by H. H. Wilson, Calcutta 1813 (The English translation also in Wilson, Works, Vol. 4); by J. Gildemeister

great epics (mahākāvya). It can be called an "epic" inasmuch as the lyric verses have an epic frame. The subject-matter is as follows :

A Yakṣa, *i. e.*, one of the celestial beings who are in the service of the god Kubera, had been guilty of some offence against his lord, and was therefore banished by the god for a year. He must leave his home and his consort and journey to the Rāma hill in the South. In the eighth month of his banishment, just at the beginning of the rainy season, the banished one espies a cloud which is floating from the South towards his northern home; then he asks it to give his sorrowing wife a message from him. He describes exactly to the cloud the path it must follow in order to reach his home on the Kailāsa mountain, where in the city of Alakā stands his castle, in which his wife is sorrowing in solitude. This gives the poet ample opportunity for splendid descriptions of natural scenery. With particular fondness he lingers over the description of his own native town of Ujjayinī and the Yakṣa city of Alakā. Ever and again the poet astonishes us in these descriptions by the most daring of images and similes. The black cloud hovers over the stream, which thus resembles a string of pearls of the earth, in the middle of which there gleams a dark sapphire gem. Kailāsa with its snow-covered peaks resembling waterlilies, towers up into the air like the loud, mighty laughter of Śiva, resounding through the night.¹⁾ The city of Alakā, which lies on the Kailāsa mountain whilst the Gaṅgā flows on below it, is like a beautiful woman whom her beloved (the mountain) holds

(with Latin glossary), Bonn 1841; with critical notes and vocabulary by A. F. Stenzler, Breslau 1874; with Mallinātha's Commentary by N. B. Godabole and K. P. Parab, 2nd Ed. in NSP, 1886; by G. R. Nandargikar, Bombay 1894; with Vallabhadeva's Commentary and a Sanskrit-English Vocabulary, London 1911; with the Commentary of Mallinātha, lit. English Translation etc. Ed. by Kashinath Bapu Pathak, 2nd Ed., Poona 1916; with the Commentary of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha in TSS 61, 1919; with the Commentary of Mallinātha, English translation and notes by M. R. Kale, Bombay 1916; with three Commentaries ed. by Narayan Sastri Khiste, Benares 1931; with Mallinātha's Commentary and translation into English by G. J. Samayaji, Madras 1934. Translated into English by Colonel Jacob, Poona 1870; by P. N. Mawjee, and illustrated by M. V. Dhurandhar, Bombay 1910; by R. T. H. Griffith, Specimens of Old Indian Poetry, Allahabad 1914; and by S. C. Sarkar, Calcutta 1906; German translation by Max Müller, Königsberg 1847; by C. Schütz, Bielefeld 1859; L. Fritze, Chemnitz 1879; French translation by A. Guérinot, Paris 1902.

¹⁾ Indian poets always speak of the whiteness of laughter. We should probably say: "Like the whitely gleaming teeth of loudly laughing Śiva," though the whiteness refers not only to the white teeth, but perhaps still more to the countenance beaming with laughter.

in his lap, while her garment (the Gaṅgā) slips down. The castles which in the rainy season are surrounded by masses of clouds, resemble the dark hair of the lovely woman entwined with a net of pearls. After the Yakṣa has described the city and his castle to the cloud in detail, he begins to describe the beauty of his beloved wife, as he imagines her after the long separation. Finally he gives it the wording of the message which it is to convey to the beloved with its voice of thunder. He asks it to tell her how he ever thinks of her longingly :

“ In Syāmā plant I find thy body matched;
In the gaze of wild gazelle, I meet thy glance;
In th’ Moon thy face reflects! The peacock’s tails
Remind me of thy hair; and on the streams,
The tiny wavelets, match thy dancing brows!
But nowhere, love, I meet thine image full.

When I, thine likeness in thy angry mood,
Try painting, on the slab, with gairik hues,
And fancy self prostrate before thy feet,—
Lo! sudden comes a flood of tears, unbid,
And blinds my eyes! Alas! In picture e’en,
Would Fate forbid the union of our selves! ” ¹⁾

However, he consoles her, as the period of separation will now soon be over. In four months the curse will be at an end and in the nights illumined by the autumn moon they would once again be able to enjoy the pleasures of love missed so long. She should not doubt as to his faithfulness, as she had once done in a dream :

“ Thy lord has added : ‘Once, upon a night,
When thou wast locked in light clasp on my neck,
Thou, sudden cried aloud! When prest by me
For reasons of thy wail, these words thou saidst,
With gentle smiles : O crafty youth, in dreams,
I saw thee taste another woman’s charms! ’ ” ²⁾

Owing to the wealth of the similes, the depth of feeling for nature, the life-like scenic descriptions, but also to the beauty of

¹⁾ Verses II, 41 f. (NSP Ed.). Translation by S. C. Sarkar, p. 35.

²⁾ Verse II, 48 (NSP Ed.). Translation by S. C. Sarkar, p. 37.

the language and the masterly way in which the poet succeeds in handling one of the most difficult metres, the Mandākrāntā, throughout the poem, this work has called forth the greatest admiration in all centuries not only in India but in the West also.¹⁾ Goethe, who had become familiar with the "Cloud-Messenger" through Wilson's translation, gave expression to his admiration for the poem in the "Zahme Xenien" in the following verses :

"What more joyous could we wish to know!
Sakontala, Nala, these must we kiss;
And Megha-Duta, the cloud-messenger,
Who would not send him to kindred souls!"²⁾

Alexander von Humboldt³⁾ praises "the admirable trueness to nature" with which the first appearance of the clouds at the beginning of the rainy season is described in "Meghadūta." L. v. Schroeder⁴⁾ appreciates the poem as "a treasure of inestimable value," and G. Meyer⁵⁾ extols it as "the most beautiful lament of a sorrowing lover which one can read."

As is always the case in India with much read and frequently copied poems, the text of "Meghadūta" too has not come down to us intact. Manuscripts and commentaries diverge as regards the number of verses (from 110 to 120) and as regards the order in which they come. The commentator Mallinātha

1) See Hillebrandt, Kalidasa, pp. 29 ff., 157. On the presentation of feminine types in the Meghadūta, s. Sailendranath Dhar in IHQ, 4, 1928, 297 ff.

2) In the "Noten und Abhandlungen zum Divan" (Jubiläumsausgabe, Vol. 5, p. 360) Goethe says with reference to the Meghadūta: "The first acquaintance with such a work is always epoch-making in our lives." And in the essay "Indische und chinesische Dichtung" (Vol. 37, p. 210 ff.) he praises the poem because it describes "purely human conditions." See also P. Th. Hoffmann, "Der indische und der deutsche Geist," Diss., Tübingen 1915, pp. 28 ff., 46.

3) Kosmos, II, 40. He compares his own graphic description of the approach of the rainy season in the tropics of America in his "Ansichten der Natur" (2nd Ed., 1826, I, 33 ff.) which he had sketched before reading Kālidāsa's "Meghadūta."

4) ILC, 548 ff.

5) Essays und Studien, II, 99.

(probably 15th century)¹⁾ already designates some verses as *prakṣipta*, i.e., "interpolated," although he explains them. Earlier than Mallinātha there is Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, and still earlier Vallabhadeva.²⁾ The earliest form of the text is, however, that in *Pārśvābhyudaya* by Jinadāsa, who wrote his *Samasyā-Pūraṇa* poem in the 9th century.³⁾

Further evidence of the fame of "Meghadūta" in India is afforded by the very numerous imitations of the poem in later Indian literature. There is a whole extensive *Dūtakāvya* literature comprising no less than 50 different "messenger-poems."⁴⁾ Thus the poet Dhoī is the author of a *Pavanadūta*⁵⁾ or "Wind-Messenger," in which a Gandharva maiden sends a message by the wind to King Lakṣmaṇasena, with whom she is

1) A verse by Mallinātha occurs in a Vijayanagara inscription of the year 1533-34 A.D. (*Fleet in Ind. Ant.*, 5, p. 20 note). Mallinātha quotes the *Vasantarājīya* which was written about 1400 A.D. (s. E. Hultsch, *Prākṛtarūpavatāra* Edition, 1909, p. IV, note 4). Whether the "poet Mallinātha" who is cited in Ballāla's *Bhojaprabandha* (16th century) NSP Edition, p. 49, vs. 222, is identical with the commentator, is not quite certain.

2) E. Hultsch (Edition, p. IX f. Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, German translation, p. IV) agrees with Pandit *Durgāprasād* and K. P. *Parab* (Km., Part I, p. 101 note) that the latter lived at the beginning of the 10th century in Kashmir, as he is identical with that Vallabhadeva whose grandson Kayyāṣa wrote a commentary on *Ānandavardhana's* *Devīśataka* in the year 977/8. *Pathak* (Edition, p. XVI f.) raised serious objections to this identification, and gave good reasons for holding that the commentator did not write until about 1100 A.D. See J. Nobel, *Foundations of Indian Poetry*, p. 15 n., A.B. Keith in BSOS, V, 1, 1928, p. 31 f. and S. K. De in JRAS, 1927, p. 472 n. and BSOS, V, 3, 1929, p. 503.

3) In his Edition K. B. *Pathak* gives the text of the *Meghadūta* "as embodied in the *Pārśvābhyudaya*." See above, II, p. 512. But it is precisely according to this version that the poem has 120 verses, whilst the commentary *Vidyullatā* (edited by R. V. *Krishnamachariar*, Srirangam 1909) has only 110, Vallabhadeva 111, Mallinātha 115 verses. How uncertain the text still is up to now is shown by J. Hertel in GGA 1912, p. 403 ff., who suggests that Kālidāsa must have given his poem the auspicious number 108 as the number of its verses. For criticism of the text see also Macdonell in JRAS 1913, 176 ff. and Hari Chand, Kālidāsa, p. 238 ff.

4) See Chintaharan *Chakravarti* in IHQ, 3, 1927, 273 ff.

5) Edited by Manomohan *Chakravarti* in JASB, N.S., 1, 1905, pp. 41-71; with critical and historical introduction, etc. by Chintaharan *Chakravarti*. Calcutta (Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad Series, No. 13), 1926. See Pischel, HL, 33 ff.; Aufrecht in ZDMG, 54, 1900, 616 ff.; Haraprasāda Śāstri in JBORS, 5, 1919, p. 174; Vidhushekhara *Bhattacharyya* in IHQ, 2, 1926, 878 ff. and above p. 35 (on Dhoī or Dhoyī). A second poem entitled *Pavanadūta* by a poet Vādicandra Sūri is cited in Km., Part XIII, 9-24.

in love. The poem *Śukasamdeśa*¹⁾ by a poet *Lakṣmī-dāsa*, where a parrot takes the place of the cloud, is a slavish imitation of the *Meghadūta*. Very similar to the *Śukasamdeśa* is *Bhramaraśamdeśa*, the "Bee-Messenger," by the Keralīya Brahmin *Vāsudeva*.²⁾ The love between *Rādhā* and *Kṛṣṇa* is the theme of the poems *Hamsadūta*³⁾ and *Uddhavadūta*,⁴⁾ by *Rūpa Goswāmin*, another *Uddhavadūta*,⁵⁾ by a poet *Mādhava Bhaṭṭācārya*, son of *Kaviśekhara* (17th century) and a *Padāṅkadūta*, by *Kṛṣṇaśarman Sārvabhauma* (written in 1723).⁶⁾

1) Edited by the Mahārāja *Rāmararma* of Travancore in JRAS, 1884, 401 ff., where quite a number of other similar imitations (*Samdeśas*, i.e., "Messages") are also mentioned. The work is well known in Malabar; s. *Rāmanavarma* in JRAS, 1910, 638.

2) It is uncertain whether this *Vāsudeva* is identical with the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiraviṣaya*, the *Vāsudevaviṣaya* and other works (s. above, p. 48). See K. *Rāmararma Rāja* in JRAS, 1884, 452; 1910, 638 and A. S. *Ramanatha Ayyar* in JRAS, 1925, 271. In another *Bhramaradūta*, by *Rudra Nyāya-Vācaspati* (first half of the 17th century) *Rāma* sends a bee as messenger to *Sitā* (s. *Haraprasāda*, Cat. VII, No. 5208).

3) Edited in Haeberlin, 374-400; ed. with a Sanskrit Commentary and translated into Bengali by *Bibhar Prakas Gangopadhyaya*, Calcutta, 1934 (s. D. *Bhattacharyya* in IHQ, 10, 1934, 380 f.). The two brothers *Rūpa* and *Sanātana* were the immediate pupils of *Caitanya*, their nephew was *Jīva*. All three were authors of philosophical and poetical *Vaiṣṇava* works. (See Ch. *Chakravarti* in Ann. Bh. Inst., 10, 1929, 116 ff. and S. K. *De*), *Padyāvalī*, Introd. A *Śivaite Hamsasamdeśa*, in which a pious *Śaiva* transforms his own spirit into a flamingo, through which he sends a love message to his beloved who dwells with *Śiva*, has been edited by K. *Sāmbaśiva Śāstri* in TSS, 103, 1931. The *Hamsasamdeśa* by the *Vedānta* teacher (*Vedāntadeśika*) *Veṅkaṭeśa* (s. *Rāma-Varma Rāja* in JRAS, 1884, p. 449 ff. and *Krishnamacharya*, 124) is a different poem.

4) Edited in Haeberlin, 323-347. *Uddhava* is the trusty friend of *Kṛṣṇa*, who sends *Rādhā* a love message through him.

5) Edited in Haeberlin, 348-373.

6) Edited in Haeberlin, 401-409. See *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat., p. 1467 ff.; *Haraprasāda*, Cat. VII, Nos. 5174, 5182, 5187-5193, 5208, 5226-5234, 5397. In the *Padāṅka-* or *Kṛṣṇapadāṅkadūta* we have the description of the grief of a cowherdess who discovers *Kṛṣṇa*'s footprint in the grove, and is thereby reminded of the absent beloved. In the *Manodūta* the poet *Viṣṇudāsa* makes his own spirit into a messenger, in order to express to the god *Viṣṇu* his feelings of devotion; s. Ind. Off. Cat., p. 1470. Another poem bearing the same title, written by *Vrajanātha* in 1758, is not really an imitation of the *Meghadūta*; it describes the thoughts which *Draupadī* sends to the god *Kṛṣṇa* while her garments are being torn from her body; s. Km., Part XIII, pp. 81-130; *Krishnamacharya*, 128 f. The *Siddhadūta-kāvya*, by *Rāma Yogī*, *Avadhūta*,

Of greater importance than these and similar late imitations, by reason of their antiquity, are the Jain poems *P ā r ś v ā b h y u d a y a* and *N e m i d ū t a* which have already received mention.¹⁾ Kālidāsa's "Meghadūta" was not only translated into Singhalese by the Buddhists in Ceylon, but also imitated.²⁾ The fame of Kālidāsa reached even as far as Tibet, and a Tibetan translation of the Meghadūta—probably of the 13th century A.D.—is incorporated with the Tanjur.³⁾

As regards the numerous other lyric poems which are attributed to Kālidāsa, it is doubtful whether they are justified in bearing the name of the great poet. Both by reason of its antiquity and also of its language and poetical perfection, the *R t u s a m h ā r a*,⁴⁾ "Short Description of the Seasons," might reasonably deserve to be included among the works of the great

"a poem of 138 vv., of religious-philosophical tenor by incorporating in each stanza two alternate pādas from the Meghadūta, ed. by Pandits *Virachandra* and *Prabhu Dāsa*, Patan, Ahmadabad, 1917 ff." (Barnett, Cat. 870) is a Samasyāpūraṇa-poem (s. above II, 512 n. 4). The verses of Jātaka No. 297 (see *Pischel*, HL 28 note) in which an impaled man gives a passing crow a love complaint to carry to his beloved wife, are neither an imitation nor a prototype, but are nevertheless an interesting parallel to these "messages."

¹⁾ See above II, 512. The *Śiladūta* is a later Jinistic Samasyāpūraṇa poem, s. above II, 574. There is also a Jaina-Meghadūta by Merutuṅga, the pupil of Mahendraprabha of the Añchalagaccha, treating of the Jaina legend of Neminātha and Rājjanatī, published Bhavnagar, 1924 (Jaina-Ātmānanda-grantha-ratnamālā No. 76).

²⁾ In Singhalese there is a "Peacock Message" (14th century) and a number of other "messages"; s. *Geiger*, *Literatur und Sprache der Singhelesen* (Grundriss I, 10 ff.), p. 9; *Hultzsch*, *Meghadūta* Edition, p. VIII f.

³⁾ The Tibetan translation of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta according to the red and black Tanjur edited and translated into German by H. *Beckh* (Anhang zu ABA 1906). See G. *Huth* in SBA, 1895, 268 f., 281 ff. and *Beckh*, *Ein Beitrag zur Textkritik von Kālidāsa's Meghadūta*, Diss., Berlin 1907.

⁴⁾ Edited by W. *Jones*, Calcutta 1792; by P. von *Bohlen*, with a Latin and a German metrical translation, Lipsiae 1840 (a new edition of the German translation, by Herman *Kreyenborg*, Inselbücherei No. 280); ed. with the commentary of Maṇirāma Bombay. NSP, 1906; with Sanskrit commentary Bālābodhini by S. D. and A. B. Gaṇendragadkar, 1916; with English translation by *Kale*. English translation with tricolour plates by P. V. *Mavji*; by Arthur W. *Ryder*, London and New York 1912 (Everyman's Library); "Summer" translated by *Griffith*, *Specimens of Old Indian Poetry*, Allahabad 1914.

poet.¹⁾ In this poem the six seasons—summer, the rainy season, autumn, winter, the dewy season and spring—are depicted one after another in gorgeously coloured pictures. These descriptions with their delicate observation of nature, the loving interest in animal and plant life, and the ardent, often voluptuous presentation of the pleasures of love in each of the seasons, are certainly worthy of Kālidāsa. A few specimens will confirm this opinion.

The following verses describe how the heat of summer reacts on the beasts of the forest :

- “ 11. The antelopes sorely tortured by terrible heat, their gums parched by great thirst, speed away to seek for water in the forest, when they espy the cloud resembling black eye-salve.
13. Glowing through and through from the ray of the sun, burnt by the hot sand on the pathway, its face turned towards the ground, with winding movements gasping on and on, the serpent takes refuge beneath a peacock's tail.

1) The authenticity of the *Ṛtusamphāra* has been questioned just as often as it has been asserted. *Haraprasāda Sāstrī* (JBORS, 2, 1916, 179 f.), A. *Hillebrandt* (Kālidāsa, p. 66ff.) and A. B. *Keith* (JRAS, 1912, 1066 ff.; 1913, 410 ff.; HSL 82 ff., Ind. Off. Cat. No. 7004) are decidedly of the opinion that the *Ṛtusamphāra* is a genuine work of Kālidāsa, in fact a juvenile composition of the poet's. The authenticity of the poem has been disputed by C. *Schütz* (1859), by A. *Weber*, *Indische Streifen* II, 1869, p. 59; Otto *Walter*, *Uebereinstimmungen in Gedanken, Vergleichen und Wendungen bei indischen Kunstlichtern* (Indica 3), Leipzig 1905, p. 6 ff., and most decidedly of all by J. *Nobel* (ZDMG 66, 1912, 275 ff.; 73, 1919, 191 f.; JRAS, 1913, 401 ff.). A. *Gawron'ski* too (The digvijaya of Raghu and some connected problems, p. 29, note 3) disputes Kālidāsa's authorship of the poem. It is, however, universally acknowledged that the *Ṛtusamphāra* was already imitated in the Mandasor inscription (472 A.D.) (s. *Kielhorn*, NGGW, 1890, 251 ff.), and might therefore belong to about the same period as the works of Kālidāsa. The fact that the *Ṛtusamphāra* is in some respects different from Kālidāsa's other poems is easily explained by its being another kind of poem. It is true that the fact that the *Ṛtusamphāra* is never quoted in the works on poetics is a strong argument against its authenticity; s. *Hari Chand*, Kālidāsa, p. 240 ff., also A. A. *Macdonell* in JRAS, 1918, 569. *Haravijaya* (about 1600 A.D.) tells in the *Kathā-ratnākara* (German translation by J. *Hertel*, I. p. 208 ff., tale Nr. 72) a story about Kālidāsa, in which the *Śaṅkṣtuvarṇana* is mentioned as one of his four Kāvya's. As late as the beginning of the 18th century *Viśveśvara* imitated the poem in his *Śaṅkṣtuvarṇana* (s. *Krishnamacharya*, 128).

14. The king of beasts, robbed of all bravery by his great thirst, gasping on and on, with his mouth wide open, his tongue quivering, and his mane shaking, kills not the elephants, be they ever so near.

15. And the elephants too, whose parched throats are touched by never a drop of water, glowing from the sun's rays, tortured by growing thirst, seeking water, fear not the lions."

How the r a i n y s e a s o n reacts on the life and love of animals and men, is described in these verses :—

" 3. The clouds, whose approach has been longed for by the thirsty flocks of Cātaka birds, float slowly by, dragging their load of water, making sweet notes pleasing to the ear and bestowing plentiful rain.

6. The ever graceful flock of peacocks, desiring the festival of love, adorned with their mighty widely-spreading tails, entirely devoted to the joys of love, embraces and kisses, cannot get enough dancing to-day.

7. The rivers, whose torrent is swelled by turbid waters, like wenches intoxicated with love, pull the trees on the banks on all sides to the ground, and speed on their way to the ocean.

11. Terrified in their hearts by the clouds which resound with dreadful thunder, the women embrace their beloved ones on the couch, even if they have offended, closely and tenderly."

It is far more doubtful whether the Ś ṛ ṅ g ā r a - t i l a k a ,¹⁾ " the Ornament of Love," a small book of verses of erotic content, should be ascribed to Kālidāsa. The following

¹⁾ Edited in Haeblerlin, 14-17 (21 stanzas), in Kalidāsa Meghaduta et Ś ṛ ṅ g ā r a - t i l a k a ex rec. J. Gildemeisteri, Bonnæ 1841 (23 stanzas) and as an Appendix to the Edition of the R̥tusamphāra, Bombay NSP, 1906 (31 stanzas). Editions with translations in Bengali, Oriya, Hindi and Telugu are mentioned in Barnett. Cat. 456 f. The Ś ṛ ṅ g ā r a r a s ā ṣ ṭ a k a (in Haeblerlin, 510 f.) which is similarly attributed to Kālidāsa, is only a compilation of erotic verses, of which v. 4 might be by Kālidāsa, and v. 7 comes from the Kumārasambhava. For various poems attributed to Kālidāsa s. in Haraprasāda, Cat. VII, Nos. 5019-5022. Ś ṛ ṅ g ā r a t i l a k a is also attributed to Rudradhara, l.c. Nos. 5025-5029.

verse (3) shows that even in this book pretty verses are to be found :—

“ Of blue lotus the Creator has made your eyes,
Of the day lotus your face, of jasmine your teeth,
Of a tender shoot your lips,
Of Campaka leaves your limbs—
How comes it, beloved, that He has made only your heart of stone? ”

In some manuscripts even the *Ghaṭakarpārā*,¹⁾ “ the Broken Pot,” is attributed to Kālidāsa. It is a poem of 22 elaborately rhyming verses, wherein at the beginning of the rainy season a young woman gives expression to her yearning for her distant husband, and sends him greetings by the clouds—a kind of counterpart to the *Meghadūta*. The poem takes its title from the poet’s saying in the last verse that he is prepared to hand water in a broken pot to every poet who can surpass him in rhymes. R ü c k e r t²⁾ already said—and rightly—that this “ broken vessel,” if it were a German one, “ would not be worth picking up at all,” and that in respect of rhymes it did not hand the water to the *Nalodaya*. It is surely not the work of Kālidāsa. It is frequently ascribed to a poet *Ghaṭakarpārā*, who would then have immortalised his name in the concluding verse (after the fashion of Persian poets).³⁾

The most famous work of Sanskrit love lyric is indisputably the *Amaruśataka*,⁴⁾ the “ Hundred Stanzas ” of the

1) Edited, translated into German, and explained by *Dursch*, Berlin 1828; edited by *H. Brockhaus*, Leipzig 1841; *Haebelin* 120 ff.; French by *Chézy* in *JA*, 1823, II, 39 ff.; German by *Hoefer*, *Indische Gedichte* II, 129 ff., and *P. v. Bohlen*, *Das alte Indien*, Königsberg 1830, 380 ff.; see *Eggeling*, *Ind. Off. Cat.* VII, p. 1427 f.; *Haraprasāda*, *Cat.* VII, Nos. 5030-5038.

2) *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* 1829, I, 521 ff., where a few verses are also translated into German; s. also *Rückert-Nachlese* I, 217.

3) *Ghaṭakarpārā* also appears among the “ Nine Jewels ” of *Vikramāditya* (see above p. 20), which at all events proves that the poem enjoyed a certain reputation in India, to which the numerous commentaries (s. *Aufrecht* CC s.v.) also testify.

4) Edited with the Commentary of *Arjunavarmadeva* in *Km.* 18, 1889. Edited critically according to four different recensions with an introduction and extracts from the commentaries, by *R. Simon*, Kiel 1893. Addenda thereto in *ZDMG* 49, 1895, 577 ff. An Edition with Hindi translation and Commentary, Bombay 1914.

poet *Amaru*.¹⁾ Next to *Kālidāsa* there is scarcely a lyric poet who is so highly esteemed by the Indians and also so frequently cited as a model by the teachers of poetics, as *Amaru*. *Ānandavardhana* in his *Poetics*²⁾ quotes the song-stanzas of *Amaru* as a proof that a poet can put so much of erotic sentiment into even isolated stanzas that each stanza appears, as it were, as a longer, independent work in the nut-shell. And another teacher of poetics said: "A single stanza by the poet *Amaru* is equal to a hundred longer poems." A further proof of the popularity of *Amaru*'s "Hundred"³⁾ is the uncertainty of the text. The four recensions diverge as regards the number of the verses and the order in which the verses occur. Moreover, in anthologies we find verses by *Amaru* which do not occur in our *Śataka*, whilst conversely verses of our *Amaruśataka* are attributed in anthologies to other poets.⁴⁾

We know nothing of *Amaru*'s time, except that *Ānandavardhana* (about 850) first calls him by his name, whilst *Vāmana* (about 800) cites verses from the *Amaruśataka* without mentioning the name *Amaru*.⁵⁾ Of the life of *Amaru* nothing is known. Indeed, a legend told by commentators and by the author of a so-called biography of *Śaṅkara* (*Śaṅkara-digvijaya*) has it that the real author of the *Amaruśataka* was

1) The forms *Amaruka*, *Amarū* and *Amarūka* of the name also occur.

2) *Dhvanyāloka* III, 7. Cf. H. Jacobi in *ZDMG*, 56, 1902, 787 f.

3) The real number of verses varies in the MSS. and Commentaries between 90 and 115. The Km.-edition has 102 verses and in addition 7 *Parīṣiṣṭas*, which altogether make another 61 verses taken partly from Commentaries and MSS. and partly from *Atupkāra-Śāstras* and anthologies. See *Thomas*, Kav. 22 ff.; *Har Dutt Sharma*, *Saduktikarpāṇṭha*, Ed. p. 38 f.; S. K. De, *Padyāvalī* Ed. p. 184.

4) Only 51 verses are common to all four recensions. None of them can claim to contain the original text. It is only for practical reasons that *Simon* has based his edition on the text of the Southern Indian recension. According to *Aufrecht* (*ZDMG*, 27, 7 f.) only the verses composed in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* belonged to the original book; but only 61 of the verses which have been preserved (in Rec. I and III) have this metre. H. Weller (according to information conveyed in a letter) thinks he can prove that Rec. III is the earliest. This was also the opinion of *Bühler* (*ZDMG*, 47, 1893, p. 94), as this recension was certified by the earliest commentator *Arjunavarman* (between 1215 and 1218 A.D.).

5) *Amaru* 16, 30 (Rec. II) and 89 in *Vāmana* III, 2, 4; IV, 3, 12; V, 2, 8.

none other than the famous Vedānta philosopher Śaṅkara. By means of magic he is supposed to have penetrated into the body of the Kashmiri king Amaru and had intercourse with the latter's hundred wives, so as to be thoroughly acquainted with the erotic mood. As a proof of the knowledge he had acquired, he wrote the Śataka.¹⁾ I do not believe that there is a grain of historical truth in this legend, not even that Amaru was a Kashmiri (as is the opinion of Simon), as otherwise nothing is known of any king Amaru.

Just as Hāla's Sattasāi is the chief work of Prākṛit love lyric, we may call the Amaruśataka the chief work of erotic Sanskrit lyric. Another thing that the Amaruśataka has in common with the Sattasāi is that every separate stanza forms a work complete in itself. As a matter of fact this is true of the whole of Indian song-poetry and gnomic poetry, even of works like Meghadūta or R̥tusamhāra, in which one thought runs through a considerable number of stanzas. But this is more particularly the case in the Śatakas or "centuries," i.e., in the books of stanzas counted in hundreds, which were so very popular in India.²⁾ Like the song-stanzas of the Sattasāi those of the Amaruśataka also, are for the most part miniature pictures from love-life, though in an entirely different milieu from that with which we became familiar in the Sattasāi. Yet here, too, as in the latter, there is much talk of partings and rejectings, of sulkings and grudges, but more frequently of affectionate surrender and ardent embraces. Amaru's songs are well known in Germany from translations. The poet Friedrich

1) Ravicandra, the author of the Commentary Kāmadā, attempts to do additional justice to the authorship of the great philosopher by interpreting the verses as having a double meaning, and giving them a theosophical as well as an erotic sense. This commentary was printed in Calcutta in 1808. See Kathavate, Report, p. 14; Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat. p. 1520 ff.

2) However, we are not justified in speaking of a "Śataka lyric" or "Century poetry" (s. Simon, l.c., p. 1 f., Pischel KG, p. 204); for the essential characteristic is not the compilation of a hundred verses to form each work—there are also shorter and longer lyrical poems—but the fact that each single stanza is composed as a poem by itself.

Rückert says of these "extravagantly splendid poems:" "They are the most delightful, most voluptuous erotics that I know." Already in the year 1831 he published poetical translations of 38 of these songs, and a complete translation of the "Hundred Stanzas" was found among his literary remains.¹⁾ Later on, too, these songs often called forth the talent of translators from the Sanskrit.²⁾ A small selection must suffice here, in order to give an idea of the character of these poems.

Amaru loves to render in his little songs the feelings of the *mugdhā*, i.e., the naïve young wife who is as yet inexperienced in matters pertaining to love. For instance she says to her women friends (verse 12):³⁾

"When my face is turned towards his, I lower it, and turn my eyes towards my feet. I close my ears which long for his speech, with my hands I cover the drops of sweat which break forth, and the shivering of the skin on my cheeks. But friends, what am I to do, when a hundred seams are bursting in my bodice?"

The next little song, too is a conversation between the *mugdhā* and her women friends (verse 82):

"O simple one, why do you let time pass in your simplicity? Show pride! Away with sincerity towards the beloved." Thus ad-

1) In the *Weendtſcher Muſenalmanach für das Jahr 1831*, p. 127 ff.; Rückert-Nachlese I, 242 ff. 270. *Indische Liebeslyrik* edited by H. von Glasenapp, pp. 88-103; Amaru, *Die hundert Strophen*, aus dem Sanskrit metrisch übersetzt, by Friedrich Rückert, ed. J. Nobel, 1924.

2) Selected songs have been translated into English by Keith, HSL, 184 ff. and by S. K. De, *Treatment of Love in Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 26-33, 49; into French by A. L. Apudy (pseud. A. L. Chézy), *Anthologie érotique d'Amarou*, Paris 1811. An Italian translation by Umberto Norsa, 1923 (*I Classici dell' Oriente*, vol. 3); into German by L. v. Schroeder, *Mangoblüten*, p. 77 ff., by Hertel, *Indische Gedichte*, and by Hans Lindach (pseud. Hermann Weller), *Im Lande der Nymphäen, Bilder aus Indiens Liebesleben nach Amaru*, Strassburg & Leipzig 1908. The whole collection also in Böhtlingk's "*Indische Sprüche*." A beautiful appreciation of Amaru's lyric is given by L. v. Schroeder, *Reden und Aufsätze*, Leipzig 1913, p. 158 ff.

3) The quotations according to the critical edition by Simon.

monished by her friend, she nervously replied: "Speak softly, friend, so that the lord of my life, who dwells in my heart, may not hear it."

More than one of these little songs deals with young wives who would fain be angry with their bad husbands, but who do not succeed. Thus a fair one says (verse 95):

"I have long repeated the contraction of my eyebrows. I have practised closing my eyes, I have carefully rehearsed suppressing my laughter, and I have attained skill in being silent. And in order to show bravery, I have fortified this my heart as much as may be: I am well equipped for wrath,—success is in the hand of fate."

Amusing pictures of wedded life are often rendered with humour; thus in the following two little songs (verses 21 and 74):

"On the same couch the two wedded partners are resting, with averted faces, rigid and motionless, exchanging never a word, maintaining serious dignity, though affectionate inclination abides in both their hearts. Gradually there is a quivering in the corners of their eyes, and their glances meet, broken is their pride, and suddenly bursting into laughter, they fall passionately on each other's necks."

"Seeing that the room is empty, the young wife rises softly from the couch, contemplates for a very long time the face of her husband who feigns to be asleep, and kisses him unsuspectingly. Then she sees how the little hairs stand erect on his cheek, and she bends her face ashamed, but is straightaway kissed long and affectionately by her laughing beloved."

She who speaks in the following dialogue is surely not a *mugdhā* (verse 68):

"'Whither do you hasten, you with thighs like an elephant's trunk, in the thick darkness of the night?' 'To the place where my heart's beloved, the lord of my life, lives.' 'Say, how is it, child, that you are not afraid, all alone?' 'I have the god of love, with his feathered arrows, as my escort.'"

It is but rarely that the tragic note of the sorrow of separation is struck, as in the song (verse 11) :

“ ‘ O beautiful one, do not travellers meet their dear
Ones once again ? You must not worry on my account. *
You are thin enough without that.’ As I speak to her
Thus with tearful eyes, she gazes at me with her eyes
Trembling with shame, bursting into a flood of tears—
And by laughter she reveals her firm decision to die soon.”

The testimony of Ānandavardhana and the impression of the definite physiognomy of a poet which we gain from the songs of the Amaruśataka, seem to me sufficient evidence that there really was a poet Amaru. This would not be the case if the Amaruśataka, as some scholars think, were merely to be considered as an anthology of songs by various poets.

A large part of Indian love lyric is known to us only from anthologies, in which also numerous stanzas of otherwise unknown poets (and occasionally poetesses too) occur. Thus the poet P ā ṇ i n i, who at a later age was identified with the grammarian, is ¹⁾ known to us only from quotations in the anthologies.²⁾ The verses by him, with which we are acquainted, are not very far removed in style from those of the classical poets of the 7th and 8th centuries,³⁾ as is shown by the following examples :

“ The lotus-pond has done well to close his lotus-eyes
after the sun has departed. Of what avail are eyes,
even though they see the whole world, if the sight of
the beloved is denied to them ?” ⁴⁾

1) See above, p. 6.

2) The verses attributed to Pāṇini in the anthologies have been collected and translated into German by Th. Aufrecht (ZDMG, 14, 1863, 581 f.; 27, 1876, 46; 36, 1885, 365 ff.; 45, 1891, 308) and translated into English by Kshitis Chandra Chatterji (COJ, 1, 1, 1933, 1 ff.).

3) A somewhat longer period of time must certainly have elapsed between Rājaśekhara (about 900 A.D.) and the poet Pāṇini, so that the memory of the poet was already so far effaced that Rājaśekhara could identify him with the so much earlier grammarian. Accordingly the poet Pāṇini would have lived round about 800 A.D.

4) Subhāṣitāvali, 1899.

- “ When the youth saw the breasts of the slender maiden,
he moved his head to and fro as if he wished to tear
out his glance which had remained between them.”¹⁾
- “ Seized with the passion of love, the Moon held the
face of the Night trembling with her stars (pupils of her eyes)
so fast in his grip, that she in her passion did not
notice that her garment, the darkness, had fallen right
down.”²⁾

In the quotations in the manuals of poetics, too, we find numerous song-stanzas by known and unknown poets. Thus we know *D a ṇ ḍ i n* as a lyrical poet only from the verses in his *Kāvyādarśa*, in which he composed most of the examples himself. From a few of these verses it will be seen that the poet who is so famous for his narrative art, can hold his own in the field of lyric poetry also :

- “ Far away is my beloved, and the rainy season is at hand,
In full bloom are the Niculas,—
And I am not dead, how is that possible ?”
- “ ‘Go !’ is what I fain would say for love of thee,
Yet from my mouth there come for love of me
The words ‘Go not !’—how can I help it ?”
- “ Not by steeds, not by elephants, not by chariots,
Nor by foot soldiers, no, only by the side-glances
Of women, the three worlds are defeated.”³⁾

Among the better known lyric poets we have *M a y ū r a*, the contemporary of *Bāṇa*, who in his *M a y ū r ā ṣ ṭ a k a* (“ Eight Stanzas by Mayūra ”)⁴⁾ reveals an exact knowledge of the *Kāmasāstra*. Legend has it that in these verses Mayūra had given an offensive description of the charms of his daughter,

1) *Kavīndravacanasaṃuccaya*, 186.

2) *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, 1. 83, 2.

3) *Kāvyādarśa*, II, 133; 147; 327. See *Aufrecht* in *ZDMG*, 16, 749 ff.

4) Edited and translated into English by G. P. Quackenbos in *JAOS*, 31, 1911, 343 ff. and *The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra*, p. 67 ff. See F. Edgerton in *American Journal of Philology*, 38, 1917, 435 ff.

the wife of Bāṇa, and that in her fury she had cursed her father, whereupon he became afflicted with leprosy, from which he liberated himself by his famous hymn to the sun, Sūryaśataka. The "Eight Stanzas" contain the description of a beautiful young woman who goes to her beloved and then returns from the bedroom. The allusions to wounds caused by scratching and biting, as well as the words: "even an old man becomes a god of love" perhaps gave rise to this legend.

The *Caurīsuratapañcāśikā*, "the Fifty Stanzas of Clandestine Joys of Love" ¹⁾ by the Kashmiri poet *Bilhāṇa*, are among the most famous works of Indian love lyric. These are fifty stanzas, all of which begin with the words "even to-day," and in which the poet, in the most voluptuous pictures and with the most ardent erotics, remembers the raptures he had enjoyed in intercourse with a princess. It is these verses which gave rise to the legend, told in various versions, that the poet carried on a secret love affair with the king's daughter, that this was discovered and the poet condemned to death. At the place of execution, in the face of death, he composed the 50 stanzas, which so moved and delighted the king that he pardoned the poet and gave him his daughter as a

1) Neither the title nor its meaning is quite certain. The titles *Caurapañcāśikā* and *Corapañcāśat* also occur, which would mean "The Fifty Stanzas of the Thief." But by explaining the title as "Fifty Stanzas by Caura or Cora," a poet Caura or Cora has been made the author of the verses. This name of a supposed poet first occurs in Jayadeva's *Prasannarāghava*. But, according to *Bühler* (Report, 48 f. and *Vikramāñkadevacharita*, p. 21) there can no longer be any doubt that *Bilhāṇa* is the author of the poem. On the other hand, the meaning of the poem and its connection with the story related with it still remains dubious. The text of the Middle Indian recension has been edited by P. v. *Bohlen* together with *Bhartrihari's sententiae*, Berolini 1833, and in *Haeberlin*, 237 ff. In the Southern Indian recension, which has been edited and translated by Ed. *Ariel* (JA, 1848, s. 4, t. XI, 46 ff.) as well as in the edition which appeared in *Km.*, Part XIII, 1903, 145-69, the 50 Stanzas form only an insertion in the short epic poem *Bilhāṇaśarita* "Adventure of *Bilhāṇa*", in which the legend of *Bilhāṇa's* love for a princess is told, though differently in each of the two editions. "The Kaśmīr-Recension of the *Pañcāśikā*" has been discussed with textual criticism, edited and translated by W. *Solf*, Kiel 1886. See also *Jacobi* in *Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie*, III, 63* ff. and *Winternitz* in *Oesterr. Monatsschrift für den Orient* 12, 1886, 155 ff.

wife. Sure proof of the fact that this legend¹⁾ has no historical background is that in his autobiography (see above pp. 75-76) Bilhana does not mention a word about having had a princess as his wife, and also in some versions of the legend the same story is told not about Bilhana, but of other personages. From the verses themselves we can only glean that the beloved of whom the poet sings is a princess,²⁾ but they speak neither of there having been a secret love affair, nor the poet's having been sentenced to death.³⁾ The Kashmiri recension has two introductory verses, the second of which looks like the poet's farewell to life, when he says he will never more return, once he shall have fallen into the net of the coquettish glances of the celestial women.⁴⁾

1) The legend forms a part of the poem in the editions by Ariel and in Km., but is also told by commentators. In Ariel's edition the princess is called Yāminīpūrpatilakā, daughter of the Pañcāla king Madanābhīrēma; in the Km. edition, on the other hand, the princess, who is called alternately Śaśikalā, Candrakalā or Candralekhā (all three meaning "Crescent Moon") is a daughter of King Virasimha of Mahilapattana. Hence in the Km. edition also the title Candralekhāsakti-Bilhanakāvya, "Bilhana's Poem of his Affection towards Candralekhā." In the MSS. from Gujarat the beloved is a Caurā (i.e. Caudā or Cāpotkaṭā) princess. The commentator Gaṇapati, who as a matter of fact designates the Pañcāśikā a "fragmentary poem" (khaṇḍikāvya), speaks of a Brahman Caura as a world-famed man who had a love-affair with a princess. Perhaps this poem is really a fragment of a poem whose theme was the love-affair between a robber (Caura) and a princess, and in which the poet makes the robber, led to the place of execution, speak the verses. In the Bengali poem Vidyāsundara by Bhāratacandra, the court-poet of the Rājā Kṛṣṇacandra (18th century), the story is told of the love-affair between Prince Sundara and Princess Vidyā, and in this work Sundara describes his love for Vidyā in Sanskrit verses which accord with the Caurisuratapañcāśikā. The verses are, however, supposed to have a double meaning and also to contain a hymn to the goddess Kālī. See Dines Chandra Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 650 f. The verses are similarly explained by Rāma Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya in his commentary written in 1798. See *Eggeling*, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VII, p. 1524 f.; *Haraprasāda*, *Cat.*, VII, Nos. 5114-5123. In *Haebler*'s edition Sundara is mentioned as the author; in *Haraprasāda*, *Cat.*, VII, No. 5114, Caura is mentioned as the poet of a "Vidyāsundara," a dialogue between Vidyā and Sundara.

2) Verse 37 (Solf), where there is mention of the princess, occurs in all the recensions.

3) Verse 48 (Solf), where the poet says that "even to-day in the hour of death his thoughts still turn to the beloved," is missing in the Southern Indian recension and seems to be spurious for other reasons also (s. *Jacobi*, l. c.)

4) This verse certainly contradicts the previous one, in which the poet tells his enviers that happiness and fame will shortly return to his house. The problems of these two verses have not been satisfactorily solved either by *Bühler*, or by *Solf*, or by *Jacobi*.

Just as dubious as the frame into which "the Fifty Stanzas" are to fit, is also the text of the poem itself, which has suffered even more at the hands of the copyists than other favourite works of Indian poetry. For of the 50 verses only five have come down in all recensions, and it has even been suggested that Bilhana himself wrote only these five verses.¹⁾ Now this seems to be going too far, as it would mean that by far the greater part of the poem consists merely of imitations by epigones. As, however, the poet is a Kashmiri and lived at the court of a South Indian ruler, those verses which the Kashmiri and the South Indian recensions have in common, will be those having the greatest claim to authenticity. There are 34 such verses. At all events, this great diversity of the recensions proves how extremely popular the poem is in India. From the point of view of Indian erotics and aesthetics the fame of the poem is easily understood.²⁾ For Western taste the translators, in order to make the poem at all palatable, had to tone down very considerably the ardent breath of sensuality with which the Indian verses are inspired.³⁾

The *Āryāsaptaśatī*,⁴⁾ "Seven Hundred Āryā Stanzas," by the poet Govardhana, also belongs to the

1) Thus S. N. *Tadpatrikar* in *Ann. Bh. Inst.*, 9, 1927-28, p. 18 ff. The *Bilhanapañcāśatpratyuttara* or *Bhūpajājalpita*m, recording the wailings of the princess Śaśikalā, by a poet Bhūvara (s. *Tadpatrikar*, l.c., p. 22 f.) is an imitation in the form of a continuation of Bilhana's poem.

2) *Krishnamacharya*, p. 122 says that the poem is still so highly appreciated in India even at the present day that no Indian youth fails to commit at least a few of these verses to memory.

3) Thus *Hoefler*, *Indische Gedichte*, I, 117 ff., in his very free complete translation, and *L. v. Schroeder*, who (*Mangoblüten*, p. 61 ff.) has rendered a number of selected verses much more beautifully, but much more freely still. The Latin rendering by *v. Bohlen* and the literal German rendering by *Solf* cannot of course give any idea of the poetic beauty of the poem. The poem has been translated into English by *Edwin Arnold*, London 1896 and *E. Powys Mathers*, Oxford 1919, into Italian by *G. de Lorenzo*, *Il canto del ladro*, Napoli 1925.

4) Edited with Ananta Paṇḍita's Commentary, which was written in 1624, in *Km.*, I, 1886. See *Weber*, Foreword to the Edition *Hāla's Saptaśataka*, p. xxvi f., and *Pischel*, *HL*, p. 30 f.; *S. K. De*, *Padyāvalī*, p. 198 ff.

11th century. The author was a contemporary of the celebrated Jayadeva, who says of him that no one can compete with the master Govardhana as regards excellent erotic descriptions. The poet himself boasts (v. 52) that he forcibly brought over into Sanskrit the style of poetry which was accustomed to find its tasteful expression in Prākṛit, just as the Yamunā, whose water is suitable for the lowland, was raised aloft by Balarāma. By this he means that he desired to ennoble the erotic poetry which had hitherto generally been cultivated in Prākṛit in the Āryā metre, by introducing it into Sanskrit poetry also. Indeed he set to himself the task of producing a Sanskrit work which should eclipse the fame of Hāla's Sattasaī, by composing 700 Āryā stanzas of erotic content, which are in no way connected with one another and which he arranged in alphabetical order (according to the initial letters). His work may have been more difficult than that of Hāla; but the Āryāsaptasatī, which lacks any kind of popular characteristics, cannot compare with the Sattasaī. Govardhana's work was, however, a prototype on the model of which the poet B i h ā r i L ā l composed his S a t' s a ī in the Hindī language, whose verses in the opinion of Sir George Grierson¹⁾ are "possessing a grace and a mastery of language which Kālidāsa would have envied"; and this Hindī work has in its turn been imitated by a Sanskrit poet P a r a m ā n a n d a in a Ś ṛ ṅ g ā r a s a p t a ś a t i k ā .

Side by side with the erotic lyric there was always the old religious lyric,²⁾ and in addition to numerous hymns to Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Rāma, Śiva, Durgā and other deities, which we find in the Purāṇas and Tantras, there are also

1) JRAS, 1894, p. 110.

2) See Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya, The Stotra Literature of Old India in IHQ, 1, 1325. 340 ff.; Haraprasāda, Cat., VII. pp. 457-626; Keith, HSL, 210 ff. On the religious lyric of the Buddhists and Jains see above, II, 375 ff., 548 ff. A Bṛhatstotratatnākara, a collection of 151 Stotras, partly from Purāṇas, Nāradaṣaṅkarātra, Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa, and other sacred books, partly by well-known poets, such as Śaṅkara, Vālmīki, Kālidāsa and others, has been published at Bombay, 1893.

many which are genuine ornate poems. Moreover, some of these Stotras are full of philosophical ideas, especially of the Vedānta, and it is often impossible to decide whether a work should be placed in the Purāṇa and Tantra literature, among the philosophical texts, or in Ornate poetry. Side by side with innumerable prayers and litanies, which are often nothing more than invocations and enumerations of the names of gods, and some few prayers which appear as the expression of a deep religious fervour, there are numerous ornate poems wherein the most intricate metres and all the artifices of poetics come into their own. Even a deity, it was thought, could be honoured in no better way than by applying the rarest and most intricate ornaments. Many of these Stotras are attributed to famous authors such as Vyāsa, Vālmīki, Kālidāsa, Yājñavalkya and especially Śaṅkara, but probably they are of later date. Authentic hymns are included in Kālidāsa's epics, hymn to Brahman in the Kumārasambhava (II, 4-16) and a hymn to Viṣṇu in the Raghuvamśa (X, 16-32). It is doubtful whether scholars are right in attributing to him the Ś y ā m a l ā d a ṇ ḍ a k a,¹⁾ a hymn to the goddess Durgā, chiefly in prose, and the hymns S a r a s v a t ī s t o t r a and M a ṅ g a l ā ṣ ṭ a k a²⁾ which are translated in the Tibetan Tanjur.

Frequently the hymns to the gods are in the form of Śatakas or "centuries." One of the earlier poems of this kind is the C a ṇ ḍ ī ś a t a k a,³⁾ "A Hundred Stanzas to Caṇḍī," by the poet B ā ṇ a . In 102 stanzas (nearly all in the

1) Edited in Km., Part I, 8 ff. The *Puṣpabāṇavilāsa*, a poem on the amours of Kṛṣṇa, is also among the spurious works of Kālidāsa. It is printed in Kālidāsa's Collected Works (Granthāvalī), Calcutta 1895, with a commentary, also edited by K. P. Parab, Bombay 1901. Cf. Keith, Ind. G. Cat., No. 7099.

2) F. W. Thomas in JRAS, 1903, 785 ff. The Maṅgalāṣṭaka has also come down in Sanskrit MSS., s. Aufrecht, Leipzig No. 450 f.

3) Ed. in Km., Part IV, 1 ff. with Commentary. See above, II, 550 and Bühler, Ind. Ant. 1, 1872, 111 ff. Text with English translation by Quackenbos, The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra...together with the Text and Translation of Bāṇa's Caṇḍīśataka, pp. 243-357,

Sragdharā metre) the consort of Śiva is magnified and extolled with her various names, one of which is Caṇḍī, and especially her foot, with which she destroyed the buffalo-shaped demon Mahiṣa, and there is a benediction woven into each verse such as : “ May she protect you.” Another famous work is the *Sūryaśataka*,¹⁾ “ A Hundred Stanzas to the Sun-god,” by *Mayūra*, the contemporary of *Bāṇa*,²⁾ also in *Sragdharā* stanzas and in the same ornate style as the *Caṇḍīśataka*. In this poem the rays, the steeds, the charioteer, the chariot and the sun’s disc are all glorified one after another. The sun’s rays are “ the ships which bear human beings over the terrible ocean of rebirths, the origin of the long suffering,” the sun’s disc is the door of the liberated ones, and the sun itself is the nourisher of gods and men, and the preserver of the whole universe, and it is one with Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva (vv. 9, 73, 87, 99). In verse 50 *Aruṇa*, *Sūrya*’s charioteer, is compared to a stage-manager who speaks the prologue at the performance of a drama. Judging by the quotations in the manuals of poetics and in the anthologies, the *Sūryaśataka* was more highly esteemed than the *Caṇḍīśataka*.³⁾ Another poem dedicated to the sun-cult is the *Sāmbapañcāśikā*,⁴⁾ also called

1) Ed. in *Haeberlin*, 197 ff., and with Commentary in *Km.*, 19, 1889; with English translation by *Quackenbos*, *The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra*, p. 81 ff. On a “ Sanna ” or word-for-word rendering of the *Sūryaśataka* written in Ceylon, see *Rhys Davids* in *JRAS*, 1894, p. 555.; Italian translation by *C. Bernheimer*, Livorno 1905. On commentaries on the *Sūryaśataka* s. *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, Nos. 5052-5056.

2) On the legend about the origin of the *Sūryaśataka*, see above, p. 115-116 and *Haraprasāda* Cat., VII, No. 5052. We know from *Bāṇa*’s *Harṣacarita* that *Harṣa*’s father and paternal ancestors were sun-worshippers; it is therefore quite possible that *Mayūra* was a senior contemporary of *Bāṇa*. See *Bühler*, *Die indischen Inschriften*, etc., p. 14 ff.; *Peterson*, *Subh*, p. 86; *Zachariae* in *Bezz.* Beitr., 13, 1889, p. 100. The *Sūryaśataka* is quoted by *Ānandavardhana*. A *Khaṇḍaprasāsti* by *Mayūra* is quoted by *Ruyyaka*. But a *Khaṇḍaprasāsti* (poem about Viṣṇu’s incarnations), edited in *Pandit V*, VI, is attributed to the monkey *Hanumat*.

3) See *Quackenbos*, l.c., 98 ff.

4) Edited with the Commentary of *Kṣemarāja* in *Km.*, 13, 1889; with another commentary by *K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī* in *TSS*, No. 104, 1930. In the *Varāha-Purāṇa*, 177, 40 ff. (*Bibl. Ind. Ed.*; cf. *TSS*, No. 104, Preface, p. 2 f.) it is related that, at the invitation of his

Paramāditya-Stotra and Brahmādityastava, which is attributed to S ā m b a, the son of the god Kṛṣṇa.

The Ś i v a - m a h i m n a ḥ - S t o t r a,¹⁾ which is a special favourite among the Śaivas, is also said to be of mythical origin, for the Gandharva prince P u ṣ p a d a n t a,²⁾ "Flowery toothed," is mentioned as the author. The legend runs: This Gandharva used to steal flowers from the garden of King Vahu of Benares, in order to worship Śiva with them. As he was able to fly through the air, the king's gardeners could not catch him. So they left a few of the flowers which had been offered to Śiva, lying in various places in the garden, so that the thief might tread on them. This happened, the Gandharva trod on the flowers and thus, unwittingly, offended the god Śiva, whereby he lost his faculty of flying through the air. He was caught, and in order to escape the punishment and to appease Śiva, he composed the hymn to the god, which even at the present day is daily recited by devout Śaivas. In verse 26 Śiva is set on a level with the highest Brahman. We read there:

"Thou art Sun, Moon, Air and Fire,
Water, Ether, Earth and the Sacrificer too,

father Kṛṣṇa, Sāmba went to Mathurā for the sun-worship, and that he sang 50 verses there in honour of the sun-god. There is also a Sāmba-Upapurāṇa dedicated to the sun-cult (s. above, I, 582.).

1) Greatness of Śiva-Mahimnastava of Puṣpadanta with the Commentary of Jagannātha Chakravartī translated with Comm. by Arthur Avalon, Madras 1925. The text has been printed in India very frequently (thus in Bṛhatstotratnākara, pp. 46-54), also with commentaries, and with translations into the vernaculars. Several editions with translations into Canarese are mentioned by Barnett, Cat., 821.

2) A synonym of Puṣpadanta is Kusumadaśana. According to a suggestion of Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, in COJ, I, 1934, 324 ff., the author would be identical with the Jain Puppahayanta, the author of the Jaṣaharacariu (s. above, II, 637), who lived at the end of the 10th century. Puṣpadanta was a Śaiva Brahman before he went over to Jinism. I doubt that the Stotra would have gained such popularity among Śaivas, if its author had become a Jaina. As a name of an attendant of Śiva, Puṣpadanta occurs in the Mahābhārata and elsewhere. It is also the name of other mythological beings, and the name of the 9th Jaina Tīrthaṅkara as well. Hence the identity of the name cannot prove much.

By such words did the ancients seek to define and limit Thee,
But we ourselves do not know that which Thou art not." ¹⁾

Numerous hymns to Śiva, to the Devī or Divine Mother, and also to Viṣṇu, are attributed to the great Vedānta philosopher Śaṅkara.²⁾ Probably some of these hymns are really his composition, whilst most likely the great majority have been wrongly ascribed to him. A few of these hymns are dedicated to the Devī, i.e., the "goddess" par excellence, or to the "Mother," as she is worshipped among the Śāktas. For in the cult of this sect the divine principle is conceived not as male, but as female; and the Śāktas believe, they can best express the sublimest creative principle not by the word "father" but by the word "mother." All the female mythological characters are adored by the adherents of this sect as divine "mothers," especially the consort of the god Śiva, who is extolled and worshipped as "Mother of the World" by innumerable names such as Umā, Pārvatī, Durgā, Caṇḍī, Devī, etc.³⁾ It is easy to understand that the Indian poets struck especially tender notes when they spoke of the deity as their "mother." And for this reason some of the best productions of the religious lyric are to be found precisely among the hymns to Devī. As a specimen a few verses from the *Devya parādhakṣamāpāṇa*, "Request to Devī

1) Translation by *Avalon*, l.c., p. 17. This verse renders it possible that Śaṅkarācārya, to whom two different commentaries on the poem are attributed, really wrote one of these commentaries. If this were the case, the suggestion of Mr. *Ghosh* would have to be rejected on chronological grounds. On the commentaries on the *Mahimnaḥ-Stotra*, s. *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, Nos. 5583-5606.

2) A collection of eight such hymns with English translation is included in S. *Venkataramanan*, *Select Works of Sri Sankaracharya*, Madras; a considerable number of hymns in *Minor Works of Shankaracharya* (*Works of Shankaracharya*, Vol. IV), ed. by Hari *Raghunath Bhagavat*, Poona 1925, and in *Bṛhat-stotraratnākara*. See also *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, Nos. 5609-5620 (Śiva-Stotras), 5643 (hymn to Devī), 5660-5665 (to Gaṅgā), 5683 f. (Triveṇī), 5688 (Rāmāṣṭaka), 5707-5712 (Viṣṇu-Stotras), and *Barnett*, Cat., 926 ff.

3) See above, I, 593 ff. and *Winternitz* in *OZ*, 4, 1916, 153 ff. A collection of hymns to Devī has been translated into English by Arthur and Ellen *Avalon*, *Hymns to the Goddess*, London 1913.

for Forgiveness of Sins," attributed to Śaṅkara, are given here in the translation of A. and E. Avalon:¹⁾

" By my ignorance of Thy commands,
By my poverty and sloth,
I had not the power to do what I should have done,
Hence my omission to worship Thy feet.
But, O mother, auspicious Deliverer of all,
All this should be forgiven me.
For a bad son may sometimes be born, but a bad mother never.

O Mother! Thou hast many worthy sons on earth,
But I, your son, am of no worth;
Yet it is not meet that Thou should'st abandon me,
For a bad son may sometimes be born, but a bad mother never.

O Mother of the world, O Mother!
I have not worshipped Thy Feet.
Nor have I given abundant wealth to Thee;
Yet the affection which Thou bestowest on me is without compare,
For a bad son may sometimes be born, but a bad mother never."

Of other hymns which are attributed to Śaṅkara and addressed to the Devī, we may mention: *Bhāvānyāṣṭaka*, "Eight Stanzas to (the goddess by the name) Bhavānī," with the refrain: "My refuge art Thou, my refuge art Thou alone, Bhavānī!"²⁾ and *Ānandalaharī*, "Wave of Bliss," in 20 Śikharinī stanzas.³⁾ The content of the last-named is essentially

1) Hymns to the Goddess, p. 94 f.

2) Edited and translated by A. Hofer, *Sanskrit-Lesebuch*, Berlin, 1849, p. 93 ff.; *Ind. Gedichte*, II, 157 ff.

3) Edited and translated into French by A. Teyler in *JA*, 1841, s. 3, t. XII, 273 ff., 401 ff. Text also in *Haebelin*, 246 ff.; translated into English by Avalon, *Hymns to the Goddess*, 62 ff., and *Wave of Bliss, Ānandalaharī*, translated with Commentary by Arthur Avalon, 2nd Ed., Madras 1924. Other hymns to Devī have been edited in *Km.*, Part IX, 1893, 114 ff., 140 ff.; Part XI, 1895, 1 ff.; the *Ambāṣṭaka*, "Eight Stanzas to the Mother," with Commentary, in *Km.*, Part II, 1886, 154 ff.; the *Pañcāstavī* (five hymns to Durgā by unknown authors) in *Km.*, Part III, pp. 9-31. Hymns addressed to Śiva and attributed to Śaṅkara have been edited in *Haebelin*, 496 ff., and in *Km.*, Part VI, 1890, 1 ff.; a hymn to Viṣṇu in *Km.*, Part II, 1886, 1 ff.

Tantric, and after it follows the *Saundaryalaharī*, "Wave of Beauty," in which the bodily charms of the Devī are extolled.¹⁾

It is doubtful whether Śaṅkara also composed hymns in praise of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. It is possible, since for him Nārāyaṇa is only a name of Brahman. At all events the *Ṣaṭpadī*,²⁾ a hymn to Nārāyaṇa in 7 Āryā stanzas, which is attributed to him, is worthy of a good poet. They contain pure Vedānta doctrines, e.g., the verses :

1. "Take away, O Viṣṇu, my unruliness,
Let me subdue my mind, calm in me
The mirage of the world of senses.
Spread forth my pity for the beings, rescue me
from the ocean of rebirths."
3. "Even if in reality there are no differences,
Still I am Thine, and not Thou mine, O Lord!
The wave belongs to the ocean, but never the ocean to the wave."

A *Ṣaṭśloki gītā*, which consists almost entirely of names of Rāma, is attributed to the second great Vedānta teacher Rāmānuja.³⁾

Mūka, who sang of the Devī in his *Pañcaśatī*⁴⁾ in no less than 500 verses, is said to have been a contemporary of

1) A verse from the *Saundaryalaharī* is quoted in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, 3525 as being by Śaṅkara. Numerous commentaries on the work testify to its popularity, but neither to its authenticity nor its great antiquity, as seems to be the opinion of *Avalon*, *Wave of Bliss*, p. VI. On Śaṅkara in his relationship to the Tantra literature, see above, I, 601. Names such as Ādiśaṅkara, Abhinavaśaṅkara, etc., show that later authors often assumed the name of the celebrated Vedānta teacher along with their own names. There is also said to have been a Tantric author Śaṅkara in Bengal in the 15th century, s. Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya in *IHQ*, 1, 1925, p. 349 notes and *Avalon*, l. c., p. ix. *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, No. 5679, says that the author of the *Maṇikarṇikāṣṭaka* is "Gauḍīya Śaṅkarācārya."

2) *Minor Works of Shankaracharya*, p. 366 (among other Vedāntastotrāṇi), see S. G. Kanhere in *BSOS*, IV, 1926, 301 ff.

3) Printed in *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, No. 5555.

4) Ed. in *Km.*, Part V, 1888, 1 ff., where Mūka is declared to be a modern poet. According to *Krishnamacharya*, 119, tradition declares him to be a contemporary of Śaṅkara, and reports that he is supposed to have been an idiot (mūka) in his youth and became a great poet owing to a sudden inspiration.

Śaṅkara. Ānandavardhana also wrote a *Devīśataka*,¹⁾ a hundred very ornate stanzas, in which he shows his mastery in the most intricate artifices of poetics, which appears to be in contradiction to his doctrine that it is the Unexpressed and not the Ornaments that is the essential thing in poetry. However, he himself says in one passage of his Poetics that in hymns to the gods the sentiments (*rasa*), etc., are of subordinate importance.²⁾ *Utpaladeva*, the teacher of *Abhinavagupta*, wrote (at the beginning of the 10th century) a *Stotrāvalī*,³⁾ a book of 20 hymns to Śiva, comprising partly quite simple invocations and partly ornate verses.

The *Mukundamālā*,⁴⁾ by *Kulaśekhara*, a king of Kerala, whose time is not known, because there were several kings of this name in Kerala between the 9th and the 12th centuries A.D.,⁵⁾ is a great favourite among the Vaiṣṇavas in South India. *Mukunda* is an epithet of the god Viṣṇu, who is here glorified in manifold ways. Thus we read in verse 7 :

“ Whether I dwell in heaven or on earth,
Or in hell — wherever it may be, O Ender of hell !

1) Ed. in *Km.*, Part IX, 1893, 1 ff. with the Commentary of *Kaṣṣaṭa*, written in the year 978 (s. *Hultzsch*, *Kalidasa's Meghaduta*, p. ix).

2) See *Ānandavardhana*, *Dhvanyāloka* on III, 43.

3) Ed. with the Commentary of *Kṣemarāja* in *ChSS*, No. 15, 1902. On the author s. *Aufrecht*, CC, 64 and *Thomas*, *Kav.*, 29 f. In the 14th century, *Jagaddhara* composed 38 hymns in honour of Śiva : *Stutikusumāñjali*, “ Nosegay of Hymns ” (ed. with Comm. in *Km.*, 23, 1891).

4) Ed. in *Haeberlin*, 515 ff. (22 verses), another recension (34 verses) in *Km.*, Part I, 11 ff.; an edition with free paraphrase in Kannada, and an English translation ed. by *M.B. Srinivasaiengar*, Bangalore 1907, mentioned in *Barnett*, Cat., 521. One verse (*Haeberlin*, 7, *Km.*, 6) from the hymn is quoted in an inscription of *Pagan* (13th century), s. *Hultzsch*, in *Ep. Ind.* 7, 197. The *Mukundamālā* is quoted in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, s. *Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya* in *IHQ*, 1, 1925, 350.

5) *K. Rama Pisharoti* (*IHQ*, 7, 1931, 319 ff.) is of opinion that the reputation enjoyed by the poem in South India is to be explained by the fact that the author “ is the first of the Vaiṣṇavite Perumals who actively patronised the Vaiṣṇavite faith to check Buddhism and Jainism in Kerala ” (l.c., 324). He is inclined to place him in the middle of the 8th century A.D., whilst *K. G. Sesha Aiyar* (*IHQ*, 7, 644 ff., 651, recte 724 ff., 731) places him in the 11th or 12th century. See also *Gaṇapati Śāstri* in *TSS*, No. 11, p. 4 and *A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar* in *JRAS*, 1925, 272.

In the hour of death I think only of Thy
Feet, which outshine the autumn lotus in radiance."

The Kerala country also produced *Līlāśuka* or *Kṛṣṇa-Līlāśuka*, also known as *Bilvamaṅgala*, whose poem *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, "Nectar for Kṛṣṇa's Ears," a glorification of the god Kṛṣṇa in 110 stanzas is highly esteemed in the land. Young people still like to sing it even at the present day, and some verses are said to be suitable for dancing. A legend says that the poet was reborn as Jayadeva, the poet of the *Gītagovinda*.¹⁾ The great Caitanya (1485-1533 A.D.) is said to have brought the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* from his pilgrimages in Southern and Western India to Bengal where ever since it has become a favourite devotional poem with the Vaiṣṇavas, almost as popular as the *Gītagovinda*. But there are two recensions of the work. In the Southern text it consists of three sections, the number of verses in each varying between 102 and 112, while the Bengali text gives only the first section consisting of 112 verses. If *Līlāśuka* is identical with the author of a commentary on one of Śaṅkara's works, who mentions as his teacher Padmācārya, the pupil of Śaṅkara, he would have lived as early as in the 9th century.²⁾ Some scholars, however, identify him with another writer of the same name who wrote

1) The Śrī-Vāṇī-Vilāsa Press edition, with the commentary of Pāpayallaya Śūri, Śrīraṅgam (no date), has three Āśvāsas, consisting respectively of 107, 110 and 112 verses; the Rādhāraṇjan Press edition, with the commentary of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Murshidabad, 1916 (in Bengali character) gives only the first section, consisting of 112 verses. S. K. De (Ann. Bh. Inst., 16, 1935, 173 ff.) has made it appear probable that the original text consisted of the first āśvāsa only, and the two other āśvāsas, consisting of verses compiled from other works of Bilvamaṅgala, were added after the time of Caitanya in the South. Kṛṣṇadāsa has made use of a shorter commentary by Caitanyadāsa (see De, l.c., 178 f. and IHQ, 10, 1934, p. 315). An edition with Bengali metrical exposition, etc., Calcutta 1913, is mentioned by Barnett, Cat., 548. See also Aufrecht, Bodl. Cat., 128; Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., Nos. 3900-3905; Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., Nos. 7061-7063; Haraprasāda, Cat., VII, No. 5177.

2) See Govinda Wariyar in IHQ, 7, 1931, p. 334 ff. The Poetess Gaṅgādevī (14th century) in her Madhurāvijayam (I, 12) praises the Karpāmṛtakavi immediately after Daṇḍin and Bhavabhūti.

the grammatical commentary *Puruṣakāra* at the end of the 12th or in the 13th century.¹⁾ The question is an open one, just as is the question whether the poet of the *Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta* is also the author of the *Stotras Abhinavakauṣṭubhāmālā* and *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistava*.²⁾

The Kashmirian poet *Loṣṭaka* who was a contemporary of *Maṅkha* and King *Jayasimha* (1127-1149 A.D.), wrote a *Dīnākrandanastotra*,³⁾ "Hymn, containing a Wretch's Wail," in 54 *Vasantatilakā* verses, which is interesting on account of the autobiographical details it contains :

The poet remorsefully tells us how he had led a worldly life, enjoying all pleasures of earth. He was deluded into contracting marriage "which is the greatest evil and the source of all the calamities, forming the bonds of worldly existence." Consequently he was "encircled by a host of bad children, as by the coils of a fierce serpent." "In order to support them, I, though a wise man, abandoning all propriety, took upon myself evil deeds and even sported like a dog at the door of wicked rich lords, with my mind afflicted by hundreds of insults suffered." Then, the poet tells us, he lost one by one those whom he loved more dearly than his life. After having thus tasted all the joys and woes of the *Samsāra*, he adopted the life of a *Sannyāsin*, went to Benares and became a passionate devotee of *Śiva Viśveśvara*, whose praise he sings in this *Stotra*.

Another Kashmirian, *Jagaddhara*, the son of *Ratnadhara*, composed, in the 14th century, a *Stutikusumāñjali* "Nosegay of Hymns," a collection of 38 hymns in praise of *Śiva*.

In the 16th century in Bengal the *Caitanya* movement fertilised not only Bengali but also Sanskrit literature, and the *Bhakti-lyric* in particular. Some *Stotras* are attributed to

1) Thus *S. Paramēśvara Ayyar*, as quoted by *Wariyar*, l.c., p. 334, and *T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī* in *TSS*, No. 1, *Introd.*, p. ii ff.

2) Ed. by *T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī* in *TSS*, No. 2, 1907. The *Laghustuti*, a hymn to the goddess *Bhārati*, ed. in *TSS*, No. 60, 1917, is of uncertain period.

3) Edited in *Km.*, Part VI, p. 21 ff.

4) Edited, with the commentary of *Rājānaka Ratnakarṭha*, in *Km.*, 23, 1891. The editors calculate *Jagaddhara's* date as 1352 A.D.

Caitanya himself, but only the *Śikṣāṣṭaka*, a hymn in quite simple language, can rightly be considered to be his work.¹⁾ Among the immediate pupils of Caitanya, *Rūpa-deva Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, better known as *Rūpa Gosvāmī*, is celebrated as a poet and author. His *Dūtakāvya*s have already received mention.²⁾ 60 hymns to Kṛṣṇa are included in his *Stavamālā* (about 1550 A.D.).³⁾

In about 1550 A.D. the learned Advaita philosopher *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī* also wrote the *Ānandamandākinī* dedicated to the worship of Kṛṣṇa.⁴⁾

In about 1540 the astronomer and poet *Sūryadeva* or *Sūrya*, son of *Sugaṇaka Jñānādhirāja*, wrote his *Rāmākṛṣṇakāvya*, a poem which can be read straight forwards and backwards (*vilomākṣarakāvya*), and in which Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are glorified alternately in every half-verse. The poet himself wrote a commentary on the poem.⁵⁾

The *Nārāyaṇīya*,⁶⁾ by *Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa*, an exceptionally versatile writer and saint highly esteemed in the Kerala country,⁷⁾ was completed in the year 1587

1) See S. K. De, *Padyāvalī*, p. 213 ff. Hymns to Caitanya himself were written by *Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya*, whom he had converted, s. S. K. De in IC, 1, 1934, 21 ff. A *Premāmṛtarasāyana-Stotra* is also erroneously ascribed to Caitanya, s. S. K. De in IHQ, 10, 1934, 317 ff.

2) See above, p. 105.

3) Ed. with the Commentary of Jivadeva in Km., 84, 1903. See Ind. Off. Cat., p. 1497 f.; *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, No. 5562 ("collected in the present form by Jīva Gosvāmī"). The collection also contains the *Mukundamuktāvalī* (p. 51 ff.), which is also printed in Km., Part II, 1886, 157 ff., where the name of the author is not mentioned. In a commentary, however, Rūpa is named as the author, s. Ind. Off. Cat., 1469 f. On other works by Rūpa Gosvāmī, see S. K. De, *Padyāvalī*, p. xlix f., also *Aufrecht*, CC, I, p. 533 and *Barnett*, Cat., 893 f.

4) Ed. in Pandit, N.S., 1, 493 ff. and in Km., Part II, 1886, 138 ff. On the life and works of Madhusūdana, see Prahlād C. *Dīvanji* in Ann. Bh. Inst., 8, 1926, 149 ff.; 9, 313 ff., also Kshetreshachandra *Chattoṇādhya*, S. N. *Tadpatrikar* and Chintaharan *Chakravartī*, l.c., 8, 425 ff., 331 ff., and 9, 305 ff.

5) Ed., in *Haeblerlin*, 463 ff., and Km., Part XI, 1895, 147 ff.

6) Ed. with Commentary by *Gaṇapati Śāstrī* in TSS, No. 18, 1912.

7) On his life and works, s. K. Rama *Pisharoti* in IHQ, 9, 1933, 22 ff.

A.D., and is at the same time a Stotra and a fairly comprehensive Kāvya. The poem contains the entire subject-matter of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa and consists of ten decades (Daśakas).¹⁾ In Kerala this work counts as a book of devotion, just like the Bhāgavata, and the pious daily read a portion from it. Legend has it that the poet, a Brahman from Kerala, suffered from rheumatism, and freed himself from it by singing of Kṛṣṇa : with each succeeding Daśaka his suffering diminished, and at the tenth he was quite cured.²⁾

In the 17th century Rāma b h a d r a D ī k ṣ i t a composed various hymns in the loftiest Kāvya style, in which he sang of Rāma's arrows, Rāma c ā p a s t a v a, Rāma b ā ṇ a s t a v a and A ṣ ṭ a p r ā s a or Rāma ṣ ṭ a p r ā s a, and also a V a r ṇ a m ā l ā-s t o t r a in which Rāma is sung in very simple language in 51 verses which are arranged alphabetically according to the initial letters.³⁾ In the same century J a g a n n ā t h a P a ṇ ḍ i t a also worked as a lyric poet ; he sang of Lakṣmī in the L a k ṣ m ī l a h a r ī,⁴⁾ Gaṅgā in the G a ṅ g ā l a h a r ī,⁵⁾ also called P ī y ū ṣ a l a h a r ī, and

1) Besides the division into decades, there is also that into 12 Skandhas, so that it was made into a kind of Purāṇa.

2) According to another tradition (s. *Pisharotī*, 1.c., p. 23) he wrote the poem in order to liberate his teacher Acyuta Pisharotī from leprosy. See the legends of Mānataṅga, Mayūra and Bāṇa, above, II, 550.

3) Ed. in Km., Part XII, 1897, 1 ff. ; Part X, 1894, 18 ff., and Part XIII, 1903, 1 ff. Rāma b h a d r a, a pupil of Nīlakaṇṭha, was also a dramatist, s. *Krishnamacharya*, 110.

4) Ed. in Km., Part II, 1885, 104 ff.

5) Jagannātha is said to have married a Muslim woman and therefore to have been excluded from his caste. Then one day he sat down with his wife on the highest (52nd) step of the Ghata on the bank of the Ganges and began to praise the sacred stream. With each verse the river rose higher and higher. When he had sung the 52nd verse, the water of the Gaṅgā reached him and his wife and washed away their sins. They were drowned and were never seen again. The verses, however, are the Gaṅgālaharī which is famous all over India. See L. R. *Vaidya*, *Bhāminivilāsa* Ed., Introd., p. 12 ff. ; *Aufrecht*, Leipzig No. 441 ; *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, Nos. 5666-5669. Hymns to Gaṅgā are also ascribed to Vālmiki, Kālidāsa and Śaṅkara, s. 1.c., Nos. 5656-5665. The *A m ṛ i t a l a h a r ī*, ed. in Km., Part I, p. 99 ff., is a hymn to Yamunā ; the *K a r u ṇ ā l a h a r ī*, ed. in Km., Part II, p. 55 ff., sings of the misery of human existence.

composed a hymn to the sun, the *Sudhālaharī*,¹⁾ in 30 ornate stanzas. Rāmabhadra's teacher, Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, wrote a philosophical poem in simple, dignified language, *Ānandasāgarastava*, in honour of the Devī.²⁾

The curious way in which the cult of the Devī developed is shown by a poem, whose time is unknown, the *Caṇḍīkucapañcāśikā*, "50 Stanzas on the Breasts of Caṇḍī," by a poet *Lakṣmaṇa Ācārya*, son of *Veṇīmādhava*.³⁾ Another semi-religious semi-erotic poem is the *Bhikṣāṭanākāvya*, by *Śivadāsa*, who calls himself *Utprekṣāvallabha*. This poem describes the feelings and actions of the female devotees of Śiva, when the latter wanders about in the form of a religious mendicant.⁴⁾

— The erotic and the religious lyrics are often combined in India. The most famous religious-erotic poem is the *Gītāgovinda*⁵⁾ by *Jayadeva*, the son of *Bhojadeva* from *Kindubilva* (the present-day *Kendulī*) in Bengal, the court-poet

1) Ed. in *Km.*, Part I, 16 ff.

2) Ed. in *Km.*, Part XI, 1895, 76 ff.

3) Ed. in *Km.*, Part IX, 1893, 80 ff. In spite of the title the poem consists of 83 verses; 1-18 are introduction and 69-83 conclusion.

4) See *Aufrecht* in *ZDMG*, 27, 12 f.; *Eggeling*, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, p. 1448 f.; *Peterson*, *Subh.* 111 f. The author is often quoted in anthologies, also as *BhaṭṭaVallabha* or *Vallabha*.

5) Editions: *Gita-Govinda*, *Jayadevse poetae Indici drama lyricum. Textum...recognovit...interpretationem latinam adjecit C. Lassen*, *Bonnae ad Rh.* 1836. The *Gita-Govinda*, of *Jayadeva* with the Commentaries *Rasikapriyā* of *King Kumbha* and *Rasamañjarī* of *Mahāmahopādhyāya Śaṅkaramiśra*. Ed. by *M. R. Telang* and *W. L. S. Pansikar*, 3rd. Ed., *Bombay*, 1910, *NSP*. An English translation by *W. Jones* already appeared in the year 1807 in the *Asiatick Researches*, 3, 184 ff. The last-named gave rise to the German renderings by *F. H. v. Dalberg* (*Erfurt*, 1802), *F. Majer* (in *Asiat. Magazin*, II, 294 ff.) and *A. W. Riemenschneider* (*Halle*, 1818). A German version by *F. Rückert* (first made after a *Calcutta* print in 1829, and then remodelled according to *Lassen's* edition) appeared in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* I, *Göttingen* 1837, p. 128 ff. (with grammatical notes, p. 286 ff.), also in *Rückert-Nachlese*, I, 346 ff.; in *H. v. Glasenapp*, *Indische Liebeslyrik*, pp. 114-175, also in *Inselbücherei*, No. 303. Translated into English by *Edwin Arnold*, *London*, 1875, into French by *H. Fauche*, *Paris* 1850 and by *G. Courtillier* (avec une préface de *S. Lévi*, *Paris* 1904), into Dutch by *B. Faddegon*, *Santpoort* 1932. On the numerous commentaries on the *Gītāgovinda*, s. *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VII, p. 1454 ff., *Haraprasāda*, *Cat.*, VII, Nos. 5153-5170. See *Pischel*, *HL*, p. 19 ff.; *Keith*, *HSL*, 190 ff.; *S. K. De*, *Treatment of Love in Sanskrit Literature*, p. 56 ff.

of Lakṣmaṇasena. The Bhakt-mālā, a book of legends of the Bhāktas, the faithful devotees of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, in the Hindī language, tells many a legend of the poet in which he is honoured as a saint and a miracle-worker.¹⁾ In his youth he is said to have led the life of a wandering ascetic, but married later, as a Brahman forced his daughter upon him. As a married man he composed the poem Gītagovinda, and the god Kṛṣṇa himself helped him when he was at a loss to describe Rādhā's charms. The full title of the poem is Gītagovindakāvyaṃ, i. e., "the poem in which Govinda is honoured by songs." Govinda is a name of the cowherd god Kṛṣṇa, and the theme of the poem is his love for Rādhā who keeps away from him out of jealousy, the longing of the two lovers and their ultimate reconciliation and reunion. The simple action, if action it can be called, is told in a few recitative verses, whereas the greater part of the poem consists of rhymed d a n c e - s o n g s with a refrain.²⁾ Moreover, the melody and the time to which they are to be sung and danced, are always stated. These songs, which are in turn uttered by Rādhā, her woman friend and Kṛṣṇa, describe the events and moods in pictures full of sensuous fire. Here and there benedictions are also inserted, and in the concluding verse of each song the name of the poet is mentioned, and it is said that he worships Hari.³⁾ The recitative verses which follow each song—one to three verses, which are not sung, but spoken in recitative—continue the action, and sometimes also the speech of

1) See 'H. H. Wilson, Works, I, 65 ff.; M. Garcin de Tassy, Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue et Hindoustanie, 2. éd., Paris 1870, II, 69 ff.; E. Trumpp in SBayA, 1879, I, 6 ff.; Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, Oxford 1909, V, 4 ff.; M. Chakravarti in JASB, N. S., 2, 1906, 163 ff. (Legend from the Sanskrit Bhāktamālā by Candradatta).

2) They generally have 8 verses, hence in some manuscripts they are also called aṣṭapadī; and as the songs count as the nucleus of the poem, the latter is also sometimes known as A ṣ ṭ a p a d ī, i. e., "the Poem with Eight Verses."

3) Rückert and Edwin Arnold arbitrarily omitted these religious accessories, hence their translations give a wrong idea of the poem. The Indian editions and the French translation by Courtillier give a correct idea of the poem.

the person who appears in the song. A survey of the contents of the first Cantos will give an idea of how song and recitation, narrative and speech fit in with one another.

After a Foreword by the poet in four verses comes a hymn to Viṣṇu (Hari) in which the god is honoured in his ten incarnations, and this is followed immediately by a second hymn in praise of the god, with the refrain: "Victory to Thee, victory to Thee, divine Hari!" A narrative stanza then tells that in spring the woman friend spoke to Rādhā, whereupon the song¹⁾ follows in which the friend describes how Kṛṣṇa amuses himself with the cowherdesses in the grove and dances with them. Three recitative verses describe the spring and relate that the friend again addressed Rādhā in the following song; and this song describes how the cowherdesses crowd around the youthful god, go into raptures over him, admire him and allure him. For instance:

"The third one of that dazzling band of dwellers in the wood—
Body and bosom panting with the pulse of youthful blood—
Leans over him, as in his ear a lightsome thing to speak,
And then with leaf-soft lip imprints a kiss below his cheek;
A kiss that thrills, and Kṛṣṇa turns at the silken touch
To give it back—ah, Rādhā! forgetting thee too much.

"And one with arch smile beckons him away from Jumna's banks,
Where the tall bamboos bristle like spears in battle-ranks,
And plucks his cloth to make him come into the mango-shade,
Where the fruit is ripe and golden, and the milk and cakes are laid:
Oh! golden-red the mangoes, and glad the feasts of Spring,
And fair the flowers to lie upon, and sweet the dancers sing.

"Krishna, made for heavenly things,
'Mid those woodland singers sings;
With those dancers dances featly,
Gives back soft embraces sweetly;
Smiles on that one, toys with this,
Glance for glance and kiss for kiss;

¹⁾ It is to be sung to the "Spring melody," the notes for which are given by W. Jones (*As. Res.*, 3, 86 f.). In India certain fixed melodies are always prescribed for certain seasons of the year and times of the day, s. J. D. Paterson, *As. Res.* 9, 1809, p. 454 ff.

Meets the merry damsels fairly,
Plays the round of folly rarely,
Lapped in milk-warm spring-time weather,
He and those brown girls together." ¹⁾

Then it is related how Rādhā is jealous and goes away and retires into an arbour, and in the next song Rādhā complains in bitter words to her woman friend about the unfaithfulness of the beloved, but only to express in a second song her ardent love-longing and her desire that the beloved may approach her and embrace her. Then comes a narrative verse: Tortured by love Kṛṣṇa leaves the cowherdesses and seeks her repentantly. The next song continues his lament. After the song come recitative verses in which Kṛṣṇa, addressing himself partly to the god of love and partly to Rādhā, gives expression to his longing for the beloved. This is followed by a benediction, in which Kṛṣṇa, the beloved of Rādhā, is invoked for good fortune and blessing on the audience. Narrative verse: Rādhā's friend comes and speaks to the love-lorn Kṛṣṇa. In the following song she describes the distress of Rādhā who is love-sick owing to the separation, and in two further songs she gives still further details of this love-grief. The conclusion is again a benediction. Narrative verse: Kṛṣṇa begs the friend to go to Rādhā and bring her to him. Then comes a song in which the friend tells Rādhā how Kṛṣṇa is being consumed with longing for her, and that he is waiting for her in the bower with ardent yearning. A narrative verse depicts the place where the lover dwells. Then comes a song in which the friend in words breathing ardent, wild sensuality, urges Rādhā to have done with her coyness and to hasten to Kṛṣṇa's embrace: The refrain of this song, *dhīrasamīre yamunāṭire vasati vane vanamālī*, sounds like music in our ears. It is impossible to render in

¹⁾ I, 41, 42, 44. Transl. by Sir Edwin Arnold, *The Indian Song of Songs*, Trübner's Oriental Series, p. 16 ff. Arnold's translation is only a very distant echo of the original text as even the following literal translation will show:

"One of the fair ones, close to his cheeks, on pretence of whispering a secret in his ear, kisses the beloved gracefully, and he answers with a thrill of joy. Hari here is disporting in the sportive crowd of maidens entirely devoted to the sport of love.

Another, full of desire for the arts of love-sport, seizes his mantle to drag him towards the lovely Vañjula bower on the banks of the Jumna. Hari here is disporting, etc.

Now he embraces one, kisses another, makes love to one lovely one, looks at another with a graceful smile, and chases another one of greater charms still. Hari here is disporting, etc." (The refrain is omitted by Arnold entirely).

any translation the melody of the Sanskrit original with the alliterations and rhymes. It was only a poet like *Rückert*, the great master of the art of translation, who could venture on the attempt. The following translation of Verses V, 10 ff. of the Song is by Edwin Arnold:

“ When a bird’s wing stirs the roses,
When a leaf falls dead,
Twenty times he recomposes
The flower-seat he has spread :
Twenty times, with anxious glances
Seeking thee in vain,
Sighing ever by the river,
Krishna droops again.

“ Loosen from thy foot the bangle,
Lest its golden bell,
With a tiny, tattling jangle,
Any false tale tell :
If thou fearest that the moonlight
Will thy glad face know,
Draw those dark braids lower, Lady !
But to Krishna go.

“ Mistress, sweet and bright and holy !
Meet him in that place ;
Change his cheerless melancholy
Into joy and grace ;
If thou hast forgiven, vex not ;
If thou lovest, go,
Watching ever by the river,
Krishna listens low :

“ Listens low, and on his reed there
Softly sounds thy name,
Making even mute things plead there
For his hope : ’tis shame
That, while winds are welcome to him,
If from thee they blow,
Mournful ever by the river
Krishna waits thee so !” ¹⁾

1) E. Arnold’s translation, p. 47 f. The beautiful refrain : *dhīrasamīre*, etc., “ By

The recitative verses which follow are only a continuation of the friend's speech contained in the song, etc.

This poem has often been designated as a dramatic work : Lassen called it a "lyrical drama," L. v. Schröder a "lyric-dramatic poem" and a "refined Yātrā."¹ The division into Sargas or "Cantos" shows that the poet himself wished his work to be considered as a "Kāvya," i.e., as an epic poem. On the other hand he has undoubtedly inserted in the frame of a Kāvya the songs composed after popular models, and which are scarcely imaginable without music, singing and dancing. And in one of the verses he himself says (IV, 9) that his song should be "performed in the mind," i.e., it should be thought of as performed (*manasā naṭanīyam*). This means that the poet did not wish to produce a dramatic poem, and certainly not a drama proper,² but rustic dance games with music and singing served him as models for the songs which form the nucleus of the work.

The style, the rhymed metre measured in Moras (*mātrāvṛtta*) and the whole execution of these songs is so strongly reminiscent of the popular poetry that it has been conjectured that

the bank of the Jumna ever-fanned by the breeze, he who is decked with the flowers of the grove, waits in the grove," has again been omitted by Arnold.

¹ ILC, pp. 563 ff., 580 ff. *Nisikānta Chattopādhyāya*, too, *Indische Essays*, Zürich 1883, p. 4, calls the *Gītagovinda* "a kind of Yātrā in Sanskrit." See *Lévi*, 234 ff. and preface to Courtillier's Translation, p. v ff. *Pischel* (HL, 22) says : "It is further removed from the first beginnings of drama, if only because no room is left for improvisation, even the transition verses having been cast in a firm mould by the poet himself," but he still calls the poem (KG, 209) a "melodrama." For a manuscript with very detailed directions as regards gestures (movements of the hands and head, etc.), s. A. C. Burnell, *A Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the Palace at Tanjore*, London 1880, p. 157 f. A *Kṛṣṇanāṭaka*, which is supposed to be a "lyrical drama" after the style of the *Gītagovinda*, is performed at the present day in Malabar, not by professional actors, but by men who have been specially trained for this purpose. S. K. Rāmavarma, *Rāja* in JRAS, 1910, 638.

² More forcibly than the Yātrās, which are after all, dramatic works presupposing a stage and dialogue, the *Indarsabhā* by Amānat, translated by Fr. Rosen (Leipzig 1892), reminds us of the *Gītagovinda*, though even this melodrama has a greater dramatic element in it.

the *Gītagovinda* may be traced back to an original written in the popular dialect (Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa or Old Bengali).¹⁾ Probably the only truth in this is that, when composing his Sanskrit songs, the poet used the form of the songs in the popular language.

It is a fact that, soon after they were composed, Jayadeva's songs were sung as an accompaniment to dances in temples and at religious festivals too.²⁾ For though we can scarcely agree with those commentators who wish to impute a mystical meaning to some of the erotic verses—the love of the human soul (*Rādhā*) for God (*Kṛṣṇa*)—it is certain, nevertheless, that the poem has a religious character, and that to the poet the whole eroticism of the poem is never more than a part of *Bhakti*, the religious devotion to the God *Kṛṣṇa*.

It is certain that Jayadeva belongs to the greatest poetical geniuses of India. It is most astonishing that he was able to combine so much passion and such lively feeling, such melody of language, which often sounds like pure music to our ears, with so ornate, indeed so artificial a form. It is no wonder that the poem is valued exceedingly highly in India, and that outside India, too, it has always found admirers, difficult though it is to render the charm of the language even

* 1) See *Pischel*, KG, 209 and *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen* (Grundriss, I, 8), p. 34; *Suniti Kumar Chatterji*, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta 1926, I, 24 ff.; *B. C. Mazumdar*, *Introduction to the Bengali Translation of Gītagovinda* (quoted by Chatterji, l.c.); *Keith*, HSL, 197 f. In the *Ādi Granth* of the Sikhs there are two poems in Hindi which are ascribed to Jayadeva: one of them, which is said to be the earliest poem in the *Ādi Granth*, is given (text and translation) by *E. Trumpp* in *SBayA*, 1879, I, p. 6 ff.

2) As late as in the time of *W. Jones* (*As. Res.*, 3, 183) an annual festival was celebrated at Jayadeva's birthplace *Kendulī*, at which the *Gītagovinda* was danced and sung during the night. *Haraprasāda Śāstrī* (*JBORS*, 5, 1919, p. 175) says that the *Gītagovinda* "is still sung in the temple of *Jagannātha* at *Purī* and sends the audience in raptures." In an inscription of the year 1499 King *Pratāparudradeva* decrees that the female dancers and *Vaiṣṇava* female singers shall learn and sing only the songs of the *Gītagovinda*. A verse from the *Gītagovinda* is quoted in an inscription of the year 1292. See *M. Chakravartī*, *JASB*, N.S., 2, 1906, 166 ff.

fairly satisfactorily in translations. Goethe was able to admire the poem, even through the wrapping of an imperfect translation, from the English of W. Jones. He deplors the fact that though "the incomparable Jones" had kept within the limits of propriety, the German translator Herr v. Dalberg left out still more in the German translation, and Goethe even expresses his intention to translate the poem himself.¹⁾

The Bhakt-māla relates that the Rāja of Nīlācal in Orissa had also written a Gītagovinda and sent for Brahmans to make the book known. The latter, however, were not willing to recognise the work. It was decided to take both books, that by Jayadeva and that by the king, to the temple of Jagannāth and to leave the decision to the god himself. Then the god adorned his neck with Jayadeva's work as with a scarf, and threw the king's book out of the temple. In spite of the fact that the god had himself declared himself so definitely for Jayadeva's work, this did not discourage the epigones from imitating his poem again and again. In numerous poems they sang not only of the love of Rādhā for Kṛṣṇa, but in slavish imitation of Gītagovinda the love between Rāma and Sītā and between Śiva and Pārvatī was similarly made the theme of new poems.²⁾

At the first glance it might seem as if, in the love-lyric of the Indians—in contrast to the love-songs of other nations—

¹⁾ Goethes Werke, Jubiläumsausgabe, Vol. 37, p. 210 ff.; Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe, II, pp. 303-309.

²⁾ See *Aufrecht*, Bodl. Cat., I, 129 and ZDMG, 41, 1887, 489ff.; *Eggeling*, Ind. Off. Cat., VII, pp. 1443 ff., 1460 ff., 1480; V. *Henry*, Les littératures de l'Inde, p. 293 f.; *Bhandarkar*, Report, 1882-1883, p. 9. Such works are: Gītagaṅgādhara by Kalyāṇa (s. *Pischel*, HL, 21); Gītagaurīśa by Bhānūdatta (s. S. K. *De*, Sanskrit Poetics, I, 246 ff.); Gītagīrīśa by Rāma Bhaṭṭa; Rāmagītagovinda erroneously ascribed to Jayadeva; Lalita-mādhava by Rūpa Gosvāmin; Gītarāghava by Prabhākara; Gītagāmbara by Vamśamaṇi (*Haraprasāda*, Report, I, 18); Rasasarvasva by Viṭṭhala, son of Vallabhācārya; Gītāvalī by Śaṅkara Gosvāmin; Abhinavagītagovinda by the king of Orissa Gajapati Puruṣottama Deva (end of the 15th century), after another manuscript by Divākara Kavi, and others. See *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, Nos. 5171, 5180 f., 5183-5186, 5209, 5215 f., 5235, 5257, 5259.

the sensual element outweighed all else. It is true that this is very prominent in the Indian love-songs, often all too prominent for the Western taste—the beautiful women are crushed by the weight of their breasts, their hips resemble elephant's trunks, the lovers tear garments from the bodies of their beloved in their passion, and there is often mention of biting and scratching—but these lovers, both the men and the women, also pine away with longing and die for love. It is also true that the Indian lyric, being a branch of the ornate court-poetry, attaches too much importance to form for Western taste, and that, very frequently, it is nothing more than a witty sport. And yet not infrequently we find true and deep sentiment and inward feeling in the erotic as well as the religious lyric. Moreover a deep feeling for Nature is genuine and unaffected in the Indian lyric as in Indian poetry in general.¹⁾

G n o m i c a n d D i d a c t i c P o e t r y .

Gnomic poetry is closely connected with lyric poetry. In many works lyric stanzas and didactic sayings are united to form one book, so that it may be doubtful under which heading to classify them. There is perhaps no branch in which the Indians have attained such perfect mastery as in that of gnomic poetry. In nothing do they excel so much as in the art of expressing a thought concisely and pithily in two lines—most of the aphorisms are in the form of ślokas—often also clothing it in a charming picture from nature or an astonishing, ingenious comparison. Numerous narratives, aphorisms and statements in the literature prove, moreover, how highly the Indians have at all times appreciated a “good saying” (*subhāṣita*).²⁾ Nowhere is

1) “The deepest feeling for nature has at all times been the characteristic trait of the Indian mind.” Th. Goldstücker (*Allgemeine Betrachtungen über das indische Naturgefühl*) in Alex. v. Humboldt, *Kosmos*, II, 115 ff.

2) See for instance *Bṛhṭlingk*, *Ind. Sprüche*, 2595, 3135, 4186, 4776, 7194; *Manu*, 2, 239; *Subhāṣitāvalī*, 2349.

this seen more beautifully and more splendidly than in the poem of Sāvitrī in the Mahābhārata. There is, as we have seen, a wealth of epigrammatic wisdom to be found in other parts of the Mahābhārata also, in the epic proper and especially in the didactic sections.¹⁾ These aphorisms are by no means always "moral maxims," but partly have reference to worldly wisdom (*artha, nīti*), partly to morals (*dharma*).²⁾ Often they are actually the result of a rich experience of life, and there is scarcely a domain of human life which they do not touch. Even at the present day it is considered an essential of education to know suitable aphorisms which one can bring into the conversation in the right place.³⁾ That this was already so in ancient times, is shown by a well-known saying :

"A tongue which does not know any beautiful saying is no tongue ; it is a piece of flesh which one has put into one's mouth for fear of crows."⁴⁾

Indian poets loved to insert epigrammatic verses everywhere. We find them in the epics, in the prose novel and even in the drama. They form a large part of the religious literature of the Buddhists and the Jains,⁵⁾ and of the narrative literature both religious and secular. The Śunaḥśepa legend in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa shows us this predilection for gnomic poetry already .

1) See above, I, 377 f., 380, 398, 415 ff., 441 f.

2) Hence the expression "Ethical Poetry" in Macdonell, History of Sansk. Lit., 377, is not appropriate. In the Mahābhārata (e.g., V, 33-37) too, worldly wisdom and morals are taught indiscriminately.

3) "Thousands of couplets and stanzas embodying in the most laconic style the choicest thoughts of serious as well as humorous minds, are floating on the surface of what is called learned conversation among our countrymen, and a man is not considered learned, and perhaps rightly, unless he is able to repeat some celebrated saying of a poet or a dramatist illustrating either side of a question that may form the subject of conversation in which he is taking part." Krishna Shastri Bhatavadekar in the Preface to his edition of the Subhāṣita-Ratnākara.

4) Böhrling, Ind. Sprüche, 4776.

5) See above, II, 57 f., 65, 80 ff., 124, 141, 143 f., 348, 466 ff., 497, 515, 518, 541, 543, 559, 561 ff., 569 f., 574.

in the Vedic period; and the technical literature of law and politics (Dharmaśāstra and Nītiśāstra) is so full of poetical sayings that it is often difficult to draw the line between didactic poetry and scientific literature. The numerous sayings which were current in literary circles and whose authors were as a rule forgotten, were later collected together to form books, preferably in Śatakas or "Hundreds," and some poets also wrote whole books of sayings themselves. The lines of demarcation between compilations and original compositions were often effaced because the latter, if they were popular, were altered and added to by the copyists in the course of time.

One of the greatest favourites among the books of sayings is the one which is ascribed to Cāṇakya,¹ the minister of the Maurya king Candragupta. Cāṇakya was considered the type of the wise, clever minister. He is called Kauṭilya, "crookedness," and the authorship of the famous manual of the art of government, the Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra, is ascribed to him. And just as all law was traced back to Manu, the mythical first king, and he was made the author not only of a manual of morals and law, but also of numerous legal and moral maxims which were current, similarly all doctrines of the art of government and worldly wisdom were traced back to Cāṇakya, famous in legend, and he was finally also made the author of a large book of sayings, which probably originally contained only doctrines of the art of government (*rājanīti*), but in the course of time assumed more and more the character of a motley collection of sayings. There are numerous different recensions of this book—in the year 1907 O. Kressler² already enumerated as many as 17 different recensions, and no doubt many more could be enumerated to-day

¹) The name and still more so the personality of Cāṇakya reminds us of Kaṇṇika, who appears in the Mahābhārata (Bombay Ed., I, 140 and XII, 140) as a teacher of the Nītiśāstra and a kind of Macchiavelli. See V. S. Sukthankar, Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, Prolegomena, p. li f. and Winternitz in Ann. Bh. Inst., 15, 1934, 172 f.

²) Stimmen indischer Lebensklugheit, die unter Cāṇakya's Namen gehende Spruchsammlung, in mehreren Rezensionen untersucht und nach einer Rezension übersetzt, Leipzig 1907 (Indica herausgegeben von E. Leumann, Heft 4).

which appear under various titles in print and in manuscripts,¹⁾ and which also diverge considerably from one another in extent and contents. The oft-recurring distinction between Vṛddha- and Laghu-Cāṇakya does not help us much in separating the earlier and later or larger and smaller texts. A kind of *textus ornatior* of the Vṛddha-Cāṇakya is ascribed to King Bhoja,²⁾ but it is an enlargement of the Nītisāra contained in the Garuḍa-Purāṇa.³⁾ It is quite out of the question that the minister Cāṇakya was really the author of these maxims. Neither is it correct to class them as "folk poetry" and to put them on a level with proverbs⁴⁾ which pass from mouth to mouth without any one author being thought of. These sayings have rather originated in literary circles. They are derived partly from works of literature, and in part they come from authors whose names have been forgotten. It goes without saying that we cannot place a collection of this kind in any definite period. Many of these sayings are undoubtedly old, and not only have they remained favourites in India down to the present day in Sanskrit, but they have been translated into Indian vernaculars and penetrated far beyond India. In the Tibetan Tanjur there are four different Nīti-Saṃgrahas, which are known by the names Cāṇakya, Nāgārjuna, Masurākṣa and Vararuci, but in essentials can be traced back to a Cāṇakya-Saṃgraha.⁵⁾ In Nepal, Burma and Ceylon, too, the sayings of Cāṇakya are well-

1) Rājānītisāstra, Cāṇakya-rājanīti, Rājānītisamuccaya, Cāṇakyanīti, Cāṇakyanīti-darpaṇa, Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, Laghu-Cāṇakya, Cāṇakyaśataka, Aṣṭottaraśata, Cāṇakya-nītisāra, Cāṇakya-saṃgraha, etc. See *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, Nos. 5478-5487 and p. 407 ff. Editions by *Haeberlin*, 312 ff.; *A. Weber*, *Monatsberichte der K. Akademie*, Berlin 1864, 400 ff. and *Indische Streifen*, I, 253 ff.; *J. Klatt*, *De trecentis Cāṇakya poetarum Indici sententiis*, Diss. Halis Saxoniæ, Berolini 1873; *Emilio Teza*, Pisa 1878 (with Italian translation); *Eugène Monseur*, *Cāṇakya*, Recension de cinq recueils de stances morales, Paris 1887; and numerous Indian editions, also with translations into the vernacular. See *Barnett*, Cat., 210 f.

2) Cāṇakya-Rājānīti-śāstram Ed. by Pandit *Iśvara Chandra Sastri* with a Foreword by Johan van Manen, 2nd Ed., Calcutta 1921 (Calc. Or. Series, No. 2).

3) Johan van Manen, l. c., pp. xiii ff., xix.

4) As has been done by *Kressler*, l. c., p. 27.

5) See *G. Huth* in *SBA*, 1895, p. 275 and *J. van Manen*, l. c., pp. xii f., xvii.

known,¹⁾ and they have also been translated repeatedly into European languages.²⁾

The collection as we have it now, shows all the characteristic traits of Indian gnomic poetry in general, also as regards the variety of its contents. Although the word *rājanīti* ("King's politics") usually occurs in the title of the collection, there are comparatively few sayings which deal with the art of government. On the other hand, we find many general rules of life, which are just as "Machiavellian" as the rules of king's politics, as well as numerous contributions to the knowledge of human nature and rules for intercourse with people, general reflections on human life, on wealth and poverty, fate and human action, on women, and lastly too, all manner of pedagogic, religious and ethical doctrines. It is only in few cases that groups of connected stanzas can be found in these sayings, which are jumbled together pell-mell as regards their contents. Thus in verses VI, 15-22, where the twenty things are enumerated which man should learn from the animals, one from the lion, one from the heron, four from the cock, five from the crow, six from the dog, and three from the ass,—a "breviary of life" which is on the whole somewhat crude. Similarly in the group of verses XI, 11-17, various kinds of Brahmans are enumerated. We often find couplets belonging together, but in general each verse forms a unified whole by itself.

Sayings in which—sometimes not devoid of humour—various incongruous objects are enumerated for the sake of the numerical principle with which we became familiar in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* and the *Thāṇaṅga*, are favourites. This kind of enumeration was no doubt current among the people before it came to be extended with such pedantry to whole works in the literature of the Buddhists and Jains. For instance, I, 9 f.: "Not a

1) A work widely known among the Buddhists of Nepal, the *Cāpakyaśārasaṃgraha*, is said to contain 830 sayings, s. *Rājendralāla Mitra*, *Sanskrit Buddhist Lit. of Nepal*, Calcutta 1882, p. 262 f. The *Nīti*-literature of Burma (*Lokaṇīti* and *Rājanīti*), which goes back to *Cāpakya*, is contained in the *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims. From Burmese Sources*, by James Gray, London 1886; see also J. van Manen, l. c., p. xii. A *Cāpakyanītiśāstra* is also probably the source of the philosophical sayings of *Śāṇāq* (i.e., *Cāpakya*) in the Arabic work *Sirāj al-Mulūk* by al-Tortūṣī (12th century), s. *Zachariae* in *WZKM*, 28, 1914, 182 ff.

2) By D. Galanos into Greek (1823, s. J. van Manen, l. c., p. iii, and G. M. Bolling in *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, New Haven 1920, p. 49 ff.), by E. Teza into Italian, by E. Monseur into French, into German by O. Böhtlingk in the "Indische Sprüche" and by Kressler, l. c. English translations appeared in the earlier Bengali editions (s. J. van Manen, l. c., p. vii; one by K. Raghunathji, Bombay 1890, and a few verses from the *Vṛddha-Cāpakya* by J. Muir, *Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers*, London 1879.

day should one live in a place where the five are not found: a rich man, a learned man, a king, a river and a doctor. And one should not resort to a place where the five are not to be met with: a livelihood, safety, modesty, courtesy and generosity." Or, IV, 11: "One alone practises austerity, two are required for reading, three for singing, four for travelling, five for husbandry, many for battle." VII, 4: "In three things one should show oneself content: one's wife, food and money; in three things, however, one should not be satisfied: in study, asceticism and giving alms." XVII, 19: "A king, a harlot, Yama (the god of death), fire, a robber, a child, a beggar and as the eighth a village magistrate—all these perceive nought of their neighbours' sufferings." The point of the saying often appears in the form of a superlative at the end of enumerations, thus, IV, 13: "Empty is the house of the childless, empty is the district where no relative dwells; empty is the heart of the fool, and emptiness itself is poverty." Enumerations having a key-word or containing a kind of definition, are also popular, e.g., IV, 14: "Badly learnt knowledge is poison, food insufficiently digested, is poison, company is poison for the poor man, a young maiden is poison for an old man." ¹⁾

Images and similes are always popular in gnomic poetry, and there is a great abundance of sayings in which human conditions are illustrated by examples from nature. For instance, III, 14 f.: "Through a single good tree which is in bloom and smells sweet, the whole forest is filled with sweet odour, just as through one good son a race 'obtains a good odour' (i.e., attains to honour). Through a single withered tree, which has dried up in the scorching heat of the fire, the whole forest dries up, just as a race ('dries up', i.e., comes to grief) through a bad son." V, 18: "For the sake of truth the earth subsists, for the sake of truth the sun burns, for the sake of truth the wind blows: all is based on truth." XII, 7: "Through intercourse with good people evil-doers become good, but good people do not become bad through intercourse with evil-doers: for the earthen pot (in which the flowers are) takes the sweet scent which is inherent in the flower, but the flowers do not take the smell of the pot." ²⁾

If Cāṇakya is only a name which came to be the bearer of gnomic poetry, B h a r t ṛ h a r i, whose three Śatakas or Centuries,

¹⁾ The Sayings of Bharata, which A. Schiefner (Mahākātjājana und König Tschanḍa-Pradjota, Mémoires de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg, t. XXII, Nr. 7. 1875, p. 54 ff.) has translated from the Tibetan, are of exactly the same kind.

²⁾ All quotations from the Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, Ed. Bombay 1858.

Śṛṅgāraśataka, Nītiśataka and Vairāgyaśataka," are among the most famous works of Indian poetry, is a poet who really lived. This is shown more especially by the first of the three collections, the Śṛṅgāraśataka, the "Hundred on Love." This is just as characteristic a collection of erotic verses as the Amaruśataka. But whilst the songs of Amaru show us scenes from love-life, the verses of the Śṛṅgāraśataka contain all manner of reflections on love and women. The Śataka begins with verses which sing of the pleasure of love and the beauty of women, of the might of love and its joys, especially in the changing seasons of the year. Then come verses in which the joys of love are compared to the bliss of the peace of mind attained through asceticism and wisdom; and in the last quarter of the Hundred the poet recognises more and more clearly that woman is after all nothing but a sweet poison, a serpent by the wayside, and that love is but a decoy, luring man to love the world, whereas true happiness can only be found in renunciation of the world and in God (Śiva, Brahman). Now it is quite possible that these verses have been arranged by a skilful compiler in such a way that they present to us the wavering of the Indian mind between sensual pleasure and renunciation of the world. It is possible, too, that the same compiler, by adding the Nītiśataka, "the Hundred of Worldly Wisdom" and the Vairāgyaśataka, "the Hundred of the Renunciation of the World" to the Śṛṅgāraśataka, was aiming at presenting in three "Hundreds" of selected sayings the path of the wise man from sensual pleasure to virtue and performance of duty and to the highest goal, the renunciation of this world.

1) Editions : Bhartrihari's sententiae...ed., latine vertit et commentariis instruxit P. a Bohlen, Berolini 1833. Haeblerlin, 143 ff. The Nītiśataka and Vairāgyaśataka of Bh., with Extracts from two Sanskrit Commentaries, ed. by K. T. Telang, BSS, No. 11. 1885. Sabhāṣita-Triśatī of Bh., with the Com. of Rāmacandra Budhendra, ed. by P. Parab, Bombay 1902, NSP, Ed. with Ṭikā and Bhāṣāṭikā by Gaṅgāviṣṇugupta and Khemarājagupta, Bombay 1885. There are numerous other Indian editions, also with translations into the vernaculars, s. Bornett, Cat., 145 ff.

There are, however, two weighty arguments against this very common view that the Bhartṛhariśatakas are mere anthologies.¹⁾ F i r s t l y , the unanimous and uninterrupted tradition of the Indians. It should not be said that a similar tradition also made Vyāsa the poet of the Mahābhārata and Cāṇakya the author of the book of sayings named after him. Vyāsa is an ancient Ṛṣi, whom one liked to make the author of time-honoured texts to which it was desirable to impute especial sanctity. Cāṇakya is a chancellor very celebrated for his political shrewdness, whom one liked to make the bearer of all sayings regarding political wisdom and then regarding worldly wisdom in general. The name Bhartṛhari, however, is known only as the poet of the sayings and as that of a grammarian; for the legends which are also associated with his name, are of very late origin and probably only came into existence in virtue of the sayings which go under his name. S e c o n d l y , not only the three Śatakas, but even more the Śṛṅgāraśataka alone, evince a clearly marked poetical physiognomy. The verses of the Śṛṅgāraśataka and also a large portion of the other two Śatakas bear so definite a stamp of individuality that J. J. M e y e r ²⁾ was able to call Bhartṛhari "a genuine type from Ancient India (einen rechten Charakterkopf aus Altindien)" who, in his wavering between ardent sensuality and asceticism, represents the "typical Hindu," and H. O l d e n b e r g, ³⁾ although he doubts the authorship of Bhartṛhari and leaves it an open question "how far a single, definite personality suits him," has nevertheless called him "an

1) Thus Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, II, 174; v. Bohlen, Praefatio, p. viii, of his Ed.; *Anfrecht*, Leipzig, No. 417 (Sprüche von verschiedenen Dichtern, welche in früher Zeit in drei sogenannten Zenturien zusammengestellt und einem Dichter Bhartṛhari zugeteilt wurden) and CC, p. 397; Pathak, JBRAS, 18, 348 ("Collection of elegant extracts for many of which Bh. was indebted to previous writers,") and especially Hertel in WZKM, 16, 202 ff.; Tantrā-khyāyika-Translation, I, p. 4, and LZB, 1907, 3. August. Also M. Ramakrishna in QJARS, 4, 1929, p. 235.

2) Daśakumāracarita-Translation, p. 1 f. On Bhartṛhari's love-poetry, s. also S. K. De, Treatment of Love in Sanskrit Literature, p. 33 ff.

3) LAI, p. 226.

Indian Tannhäuser." What is so particularly characteristic of Bhartṛhari is not so much the transition from worldly pleasure to renunciation of the world, as expressed in the verse :

" When in the darkness of love
I wandered, ignorant, I saw nothing,
Nothing in the wide world but women ;
But now that my blindness has been cured
By the pungent eye-salve of knowledge,
My eye surveys everything calmly
And sees in this world only one thing : Brahman !" ¹⁾

as the view that love and wisdom do not represent the two poles of existence, but are two paths to happiness, as is said clearly enough in verses such as the following :

"In this vain wandering from existence to existence in which there is no certainty as to the fruit of deeds, there are but two paths for the wise : they may spend their time by letting their thoughts float along pleasantly in the nectar-stream of the knowledge of truth, —or they may find their pleasure in the touch of the voluptuous bodies of women." ²⁾

" Why all the senseless chatter ? To only two things should men ever devote themselves in this world : either to the flock of youthful beauties who are exhausted by the burden of their breasts and are desirous of ever new transports and dalliance of love, or—to the life of a hermit in the forest." ³⁾

"Erect your dwelling on the sin-preventing water of the Ganges, or—at the bosom of the young woman, decked with pearls and delighting the heart." ⁴⁾

"You are true teachers of those who have set their thoughts on the Vedānta, we too are disciples of the poets versed in wise speeches. And yet in this world there is no greater merit than to care for the wel-

¹⁾ Śrīgāraśataka, 98 (Bombay Ed., 84).

²⁾ Śrīgāraś., 19. A word for word translation of the second half of the verse cannot very well be given.

³⁾ Śrīgāraś., 53.

⁴⁾ Śrīgāraś., 31.

fare of others, and in this life there is nothing more delightful than a lotus-eyed maiden."¹⁾

"If song resound thy steps before,
And Dekhan lyres behind,
And nymphs with jingling bracelets pour
The chowri's perfumed wind,
Scorn not this world's broad easy ways,
And drink of pleasure's bowl;
If not—then fix thy steadfast gaze
On that undying Soul."²⁾

I therefore believe that there was an ancient work of Śatakas by Bhartṛhari, and that the original stock of verses has remained fairly unaltered in the Śṛṅgāraśataka, whereas, owing to the inaccuracy and caprice of copyists, the Vairāgyaśataka, it is true, and still more so the Nītiśataka, have become more or less anthologies in which no more than a smaller but nevertheless a considerable part of authentic verses by Bhartṛhari may have come down. The great majority of the sayings, each single one of which is a work of art in itself, show by their language and artistic metre—especially the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre is very frequent—,³⁾ that they are the work of a distinguished poet.

Whether this poet is identical with the grammarian Bhartṛhari, the author of a commentary on Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya and of the Vākyapadīya, a work on the philosophy of language, cannot be determined. The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing relates of this scholar that he was a faithful adherent of Buddhism, was famous in the whole of India and died "forty years ago." As I-tsing wrote his account in the year 691 A.D., Bhartṛhari must accordingly have died in about 651 A.D.⁴⁾ Now I-tsing does not say that this grammarian was also the author of epigrams, but he tells a remarkable story about him: Seven times in

1) Śṛṅgāraś., 52.

2) Vairāgyaś., 67, translated by C. H. Tawney.

3) See Louis H. Gray, *The Metres of Bhartṛhari* in JAOS, 20, 1899, 157 ff.

4) I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, transl. by J. Takakusu, p. 178 ff.

succession he became a monk and each time returned to worldly life. Once, just as he had conquered his worldly desires and was sojourning in the monastery, he is said to have asked a disciple to have a carriage ready for him outside the monastery, as he felt that, after all, he was not suited to be a monk. I-tsing also quotes a verse in which Bhartṛhari reproaches himself with his incapacity to resist the temptations of the world. On the strength of this account Max Müller¹⁾ has assumed that the grammarian Bhartṛhari is also the poet of our Śatakas. It is a fact that the stories told by I-tsing suit our poet very well and that they suit no one else. On the other hand, however, it is very remarkable that the Chinese pilgrim, who tells us so much about this man, should have failed to mention the very work through which his name has remained celebrated in the whole of India, whilst the grammatical and philosophical works mentioned by him have almost disappeared. Moreover in the Śatakas Bhartṛhari is certainly no Buddhist, but a thoroughgoing devotee of Śiva in the Vedāntist sense.²⁾ Now it is possible that Bhartṛhari was a Śaiva-Brahman who was at first a court-poet³⁾ living a very worldly life, then became an adherent of Śaiva-Vedānta, and was finally converted to Buddhism.⁴⁾ In this case we should have to assume that I-tsing makes no mention of the Śatakas or that people told him nothing about them because they fall into the poet's pre-Buddhist period. Considering, however,

1) *India, what can it teach us?* London 1883, p. 347 ff. L. D. Barnett (JRAS, 1923, p. 422 n. 1) believes that the identity of the grammarian with the poet need not be doubted. With the conversion of Bhartṛhari repeated seven times over, Barnett, l.c., compares the legend of Cittahattha in the Dhammapada Commentary, III, 5, s. E. W. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, in HOS, 29, p. 12 ff.

2) See Telang, *Introduction to the Edition*, pp. ix f., xviii f., and E. La Terza in OC, XII, Rome 1899, I, 201 ff.

3) The numerous verses in the Vairāgyaśataka in which the disgust and the humiliations of serving princes are spoken of, may possibly be an allusion to the fact that he had been a court-poet.

4) According to K. B. Pathak in JBRAS, 18, 1893, 341 ff., it is probable that the grammarian Bhartṛhari was a Buddhist.

the very stories told by I-tsing, this hypothesis is not very probable. Now unless we wish to assume that in the quite indefinite data of I-tsing regarding the works of Bhartṛhari there is after all an allusion to the Śatakas too,¹⁾ there is nothing for it but to assume that I-tsing had merely heard of the works of the grammarian Bhartṛhari,²⁾ but that the stories which people told him about Bhartṛhari referred to an earlier poet of this name, the poet of the Śatakas. Then this poet would have lived a considerable time before 650.³⁾

The legends and tales which make Bhartṛhari a brother of King Vikramāditya famous in legend, are entirely valueless as regards the biography of the poet. A legend of this nature is told by Merutuṅga in his large collection of literary anecdotes;⁴⁾ another, the story of the wandering fruit, is to be found in the commentary on the Nītiśataka (verse 2),⁵⁾ where it serves as an explanation of the verse :

“ She whom I worship night and day,
 she loathes my very sight,
 And on my neighbour dotes, who
 in another takes delight ;
 A third she in my humble self nothing
 but good can see :

1) For instance, when he says that the Bhartṛhariśāstra deals not only with grammar, but also with the principles of human life, and that the beauty of human principles is treated in the book *Peina*.

2) It is not to be supposed that I-tsing knew these works himself. His statements about them are far too indefinite for that; s. *Bühler* in *Takakusu*, l. c., p. 225.

3) No chronological conclusions can be drawn from the verses which Bhartṛhari has in common with other works (*Tantrākhyāyika*, Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*, Viśākhadatta's *Mudrārākṣasa*) because we have no means of knowing whether the verses in question belonged to the original work of Bhartṛhari or not. Judging from the style and language, the seventh century is probable enough as the time of Bhartṛhari.

4) *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, transl. by C. H. Tawney, p. 198. Another legend was told to the missionary Abraham Roger ("The Open Door to Hidden Heathendom," German translation, p. 460 ff.) by his Brahman. See also Gray in *JAOS*, 25, 1904, 226 ff.

5) Also in the Introduction to *Siphāsanadvātriṃśikā* and to the Hindi recension of *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā*; s. *Weber*, *Ind. Stud.*, 15, 210, 212 ff., 270 f., and H. Oesterley, *Baitāl Pachisi*, pp. 13 ff., 176 ff.

Now out upon the god of love, and
him, and them, and me!"¹⁾

Whilst these legends have obviously been invented in explanation of certain isolated verses by Bhartṛhari, or have been used for that purpose, there are other legends which make Bhartṛhari a pupil of the Śaiva-saint Gorakṣanātha (about 1200 A.D.).²⁾ Whether this is a bold anachronism, or whether it is another Bhartṛhari who is meant, must remain an open question.

Bhartṛhari was probably the first Indian poet to become known in Europe. The Dutch Calvinist missionary Abraham R o g e r had the sayings of Bhartṛhari explained to him by a Brahman Padmanābha, and appended them in translation to his book "The Open Door to Hidden Heathendom" which was published at Leyden in 1651.³⁾ It was from this book that H e r d e r became acquainted with the sayings, a selection of which he translated.⁴⁾ Since then the sayings of Bhartṛhari have often been translated.⁵⁾ The following specimens from

¹⁾ Translated by C. H. Towney.

²⁾ One of these legends is dramatised in Bhartṛharinirveda, s. Gray in JAOS, 25, 1904, 197 ff.; another was heard by A. V. W. Jackson in Ujjain, s. JAOS, 23, 1902, 313 f. On the time of Gorakṣanātha or Gorakhnath see Farquhar, Outline, p. 253 f.; S. K. Chatterji, Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Calcutta 1926, I, 120 ff.; G. Tucci in M. R., Jan. 1927, p. 46.

³⁾ A. Roger's "De open Deure tot het verborgen Heydendom," transl. from the Dutch, Nürnberg 1663, pp. 459-596: "The hundred Sayings of the heathen Barthrouberri about the way to Heaven; and a hundred Sayings about sensible conduct among human beings." So that is merely the translation of the Vairāgyasataka and the Nīśasataka. It seems that the Brahman, "for some reason or other was not willing to give him a German rendering of the love-sayings."

⁴⁾ At first in 1792 in the "Gedanken einiger Brahmanen" (Herders sämtl. Werke, 1828, Zur Litteratur und Kunst, Vol. 9, 141 ff.), also in the "Vermischte Stücke aus verschiedenen morgenländischen Dichtern," 1. c., p. 157 ff., a few also in J. G. v. Herder's "Blumenlese aus morgenländischen Dichtern," Berlin 1818.

⁵⁾ Into English by C. H. Towney, Two Centuries of Bhartṛhari, Calcutta 1877 (first published in Ind. Ant., 4, 1875 and 5, 1876); by B. Hale Wortham, The Satakas of Bh. (Trübner's Or. Series); by C. W. Gurner, A Century of Passion (translation of Śṛṅgāśataka), Calcutta and Simla 1927; into Greek by D. Galanos, Athens 1845; into French by Hippolyte Fauche, 1852, by P. Regnaud, 1875; into German by P. von Bohlen, Hamburg

the Śatakas will show that the fame of Bhartṛhari is well founded.

From the Hundred of Love :

The Frailty of Woman.

" To call a woman frail is wholly wrong
And mere perversity of poets' song ;
When with a casual eye-glance she subjects
God Indra, there's no frailty in the sex."

The True Light.

" Not the full moon, stars, gems, nor candle-light,
Woman alone illuminates the night."

Love's Crescendo.

" *Absent* she longs for one brief glimpse again ;
Meets hungry for my kiss ;
Caressing only prays that bodies twain
Dissolve in single bliss."

"The fruit of love in the world is that two become of *one* mind. Love indulged in between those of different minds, is the union of two corpses."

The Truth.

"It's not through bias I proclaim
A truth in seven worlds the same.
Woman is the only charm,
One and only source of harm."

The Light that Fails.

" In holy hearts discretion shineth bright
Till dust of ladies' glances dims the light."¹⁾

1835. Selected Sayings, transl. by Rückert (Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, II, Göttingen 1837, p. 14 ff.; Rückert-Nachlese, I, 341 ff.), Hofer (Indische Gedichte, I, 141 ff.; II, 168 ff.), L. v. Schroeder (Mangoblüten, 21 ff.; see Reden und Aufsätze, p. 163 ff.), E. Meier, Klassische Dichtungen der Inder, III, 75 ff.; also contained in their entirety in Böhtlingk, Indische Sprüche

¹⁾ Śṛṅgāraś., 10, 14, 23, 29, 54, 55. All quotations according to von Bohnen's Ed. English verse translation by C. W. Gurner, "A Century of Passion." (Verse 29 not in Gurner.)

From the Hundred of Worldly Wisdom :

- “ Snatch a jewel, if it please you, from the tiger’s ravening throat;
Cross the ocean, though its billows toss in foam-wreaths round your
boat;
Fearless twine an angry cobra like a garland round your head;
But with fools forbear to argue,—better strive to wake the dead.”
- “ I’d sooner live in mountain caves with lions, bears and apes,
Than dwell in Indra’s heavenly halls with brainless human shapes.”
- “ Three courses open lie to wealth, to give, enjoy or lose;
Who shrinketh from the former two, perforce the third doth choose.”
- “ Alms to bestow in secret, and the houseless wanderer feed,
To hide one’s own and loud proclaim another’s kindly deed,
Humbly to bear prosperity, and mourn with those who weep—
Behold a vow which all the saints as yet have failed to keep ! ”
- “ He only can be called a son who gratifies his sire,
She only is a wife who doth to please her lord aspire,
He only is a friend who bides the same in weal and woe,—
These blessings three the righteous gods on virtuous men bestow.” ”

“ Fire can be extinguished with water, the heat of the sun can be
warded off with a sunshade, one can tame the passionate elephant with a
sharp prick, the bullock and the ass with the stick, one can conquer disease
with all manner of remedies, poison by the application of incantations. For
everything a remedy has been prescribed in the manuals—against stupidity
alone no herb grows.” ²⁾

• From the Hundred of Renunciation :

- “ My drink is of the crystal brook, of fruits my banquet’s spread,
My frame is swathed in strips of bark, the earth’s my sumptuous bed,
Thus happier far, than forced to bear the upstart insolence
Of those the new strong wine of wealth hath robbed of every sense.”

“ What can I do in princely courts,
Unskilled in vice, and idle sports,
Nor singer, author, rogue or clown,
Nor bent on pulling other down ? ”

1) Nītiśataka, 4, 11, 35, 54, 58. Translated by C. H. Tawney.

2) Nītiśataka (Addenda in Bohlen, 1).

“ While the Soul’s temple still stands firm, and Eld still bides afar,
While sense is keen, and Life with Death still wages equal war,
The wise to gain the spirit’s peace should strive with strong desire.
What boots to dig a well when all the house is wrapped in fire ? ”

“ I love the moon’s soft beams, I love the grassy wood,
I love to talk of verse among the wise and good,
I love the fair one’s face gleaming with angry tears,—
I think how fleeting all, and pleasure disappears.”

“ My mother Earth,
My kinsman Fire,
Water my friend,
And Wind my sire,
My brother Heaven,
A long adieu !
By merit gained
When linked to you
I’ve purchased grace
To break my chains,
And merge in that
Which all sustains. ” ¹⁾

Bhartṛhari has had his imitators down to the most recent times. Feebler epigones have attempted to surpass his art in more ornate metres and in the Kāvya style, they have however, never attained to his wealth of thought, but only moved in the conventional and stereotyped.

The R a s i a p a ā s a n a in 400 gāthās, which contains many original thoughts, by the Buddhist V a i r o c a n a, who is also the author of a V i m a l a g ā h ā k o ṣ a in Prākṛit, is an ancient Prākṛit work after the style of the Bhartṛhari-Śatakas.²⁾

The B h a l l a ṭ a ś a t a k a³⁾ by the Kashmiri poet

¹⁾ Vairāgyaś., 55, 57, 76, 80, 96. Translated by C. H. Tawney.

²⁾ See S. P. V. Raṅganathasvami in JASB, N. S., 6, 1910, 167 ff.; Haraprasāda, Cat., VII, No. 5803.

³⁾ Ed. in Km., Part IV, p. 140 ff.

Bhallaṭa, who lived under King Śaṅkaravarman (883-902),¹⁾ resembles Bhartṛhari's Nītiśataka. The verses are written in very various metres. By way of example I translate one of the allegorical verses :

“ See these grains of dust so light in weight,
They count for nothing, one treads them with the foot,
They lie day by day on the dirty ground;—
Suddenly the false wind raises them aloft,
And lo! they soar over mountain peaks.”

The Śāntiśataka, “ the Hundred of Peace of Mind,”²⁾ by Śilhaṇa,³⁾ who came from Kashmir, but perhaps carried on his literary activity in Bengal, is an imitation of Bhartṛhari's Vairāgyaśataka. A few of the verses occur in Bhartṛhari too, and one verse occurs in Harṣadeva's Nāgānanda. The great majority of the verses are, however, such as we find only in anthologies, outside the Śāntiśataka. As Śilhaṇa himself says he “ made ” (*vidadhe*) the work, I believe that he should be regarded as the author and not as the compiler of the sayings, even though he may not have been at all averse to “ quoting ” freely. The Śāntiśataka is pure ascetic poetry, in which the theme of the vanity of existence and the glory of renunciation of the world and of the ascetic life is treated in somewhat monotonous fashion. Some of Bhartṛhari's verses are not borrowed word for word, but in an altered form. The reason for

1) According to Rājatarāṅgiṇī, 5, 204, where it is said of this king that he avoided the society of prominent men out of avarice, so that great poets like Bhallaṭa lived in poverty. Verses by him are cited in the Aucityālamkāra, the Kāvyaaprakāśa and in the anthologies, s. Peterson in JBRAS, 16, 167 ff. and Subh., 75 ff.; Aufrecht in ZDMG, 41, 488. The presence in our Bhallaṭaśataka of a few verses written by Anandavardhana shows that outside sayings found their way into this book also; s. Jacobi in ZDMG, 56, 1902, 405.

2) Mit Einleitung, kritischem Apparat, Uebersetzung und Anmerkungen herausgegeben von K. Schönfeld, Leipzig 1910. See A. B. Keith in JRAS, 1911, 257 ff. and Haraprasāda, Cat. VII, Nos. 5548-5554. Printed also in Haeberlin, 410 ff., and often in India.

3) The name is written in various ways. Pischel conjectures that the author is the poet Bilhaṇa, as this name is sometimes written Silhaṇa or Cilhaṇa and a verse by Bilhaṇa occurs in some MSS. of the Śāntiśataka.

some of these changes is that Bhartṛhari worshipped Śiva as the highest deity and Śilhaṇa Viṣṇu. But, as in all works of this nature, the manuscripts diverge very greatly, so that it cannot be determined with any degree of certainty which verses belong to the original collection, and which have been added.¹⁾

The *Bhāvaśataka*²⁾ by a court poet of Nāgarāja of the Rajput dynasty of the Ṭākas,³⁾ is a kind of collection of riddles. It is true that in the introductory verse this Nāgarāja is called the author of the poem, but in verses 29, 45, 70, 76 and 98 to 102 the king is glorified to such an extent that it must be assumed that the modest poet ascribed the poem to him only *honoris causa*.⁴⁾ The poem proper consists of 95 verses, each of which generally (but not always) depicts a situation from love-life.⁵⁾ The reader is to guess why this or that person

¹⁾ Another imitator of Bhartṛhari is Dhanaḍarāja, who composed three Śatakas in the year 1434. (Ed. in Km., Part XIII, 1903, 33 ff.) A Śṛṅgāra- and a Vairāgya-śataka were composed by Janārdanaḥṭṭa. (Ed. in Km., Part XI, 1895, 133 ff., and Part XIII, 131 ff.) Appaya Dīkṣita wrote a Vairāgyaśataka. (Ed. in Km., Part I, 91 ff.) There is also a Śṛṅgāraśataka in ornate metres by Narahari. It is edited in Km., Part XII, 1897, 37 ff. The name Narahari occurs so often as author that it is impossible to determine his time. A Narahari wrote a commentary on the Kāvyaṇṛkāśa in 1220; s. Peterson, Rep. IV, p. LXIX.

²⁾ The title probably means "A hundred (verses) with an inner meaning (bhāva) (to be guessed)." The assumption (R. Schmidt, Das ältere und moderne Indien, Bonn und Leipzig 1919, p. 184; Keith, HSL, p. 234) that Bhāva is the name of the poet, is not likely. The work is edited in Km., Part IV, 37 ff. See Bhandarkar, Report, 1882-83, pp. 9 f., 198; Peterson, 3 Reports, pp. 21 f., 338 f.; Haraprasāda, Cat., VII, No. 5497.

³⁾ From the reading *gajavaktraśrīr*, which is in my opinion erroneous, in Verse 2 of a manuscript from Mithilā, K. P. Jayaswal (A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithilā, Vol. II, Patna 1933, No. 102, p. 9; History of India, ca. 150 A.D. to 350 A.D., JBORS, 19, 1933, pp. 33, 38, 95) has drawn the daring conclusion that Nāgarāja is no other than Gaṇapati Nāga, who was slain in about 344 A.D. in a fight against Samudragupta. From the Praśasti at the end of the work (vv. 98-102) we learn that Nāgarāja was a grandson of Vidyādhara of the Karpāṇigotra and the son of Jālapa of the Ṭāka dynasty. The Ṭākas belong to the 36 Rājput families which are already mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgī, VII, 1617 and are still known at the present day, s. C. V. Vaidya, History of Mediaeval Hindu India, II, p. 23. Unfortunately the time of this Nāgarāja is unknown. Judging by the language and style, the work can scarcely be very early. The Edition contains only Sanskrit verses, whilst Bhandarkar, l.c., according to his MS. says that some of the verses are in Prākṛit.

⁴⁾ In the colophon, too, Nāgarāja is named as the author of the work.

⁵⁾ This is obviously the reason why the work also appears with the title Śṛṅgāraśataka.

acts thus or thus in such a situation. The answer to the riddle is, however, added—we do not know whether by the author himself or by an expounder—in a short prose sentence, *e.g.* :

5. "A beautiful woman, tortured by thirst, went to the nectar-like Gaṅgā in the summer, took water with both hands, looked at it and did not drink it. Why? (The gleam of her beautiful delicate hand is reflected in the water, so that she thinks it is blood and is afraid to drink it.)"
9. "Playing in the middle of a bejewelled pavilion, the intelligent beloved kicked it, though it had done nothing wrong. (She sees her reflection in the glittering gems and mistakes it for her rival).
24. "A man who day by day walks on the right path, which is described in the precepts of the excellent law books and which has good deeds as its foundation, and is always mindful of the welfare of all men,—such a man makes the breast of the demon-foe (Viṣṇu) quite empty. (The righteous man is capable of tearing Lakṣmī, the goddess of good fortune, away from the breast of her consort.)"
45. "Hear, O Nāgarāja, when you hold the sword poised aloft terribly, in order to shatter the arrogant foes, then the ocean, whose appearance is embellished by the hundreds of waves moving hither and thither, goes into the boundless raptures (*i.e.*, in the hope of new streams of blood)."
70. "When you, O Nāgarāja, whose eyes resemble the fresh lotus, goest forth to the pleasure of the chase, then the female gazelles have no fear, only their joy is more and more evident. (So confused are they, because they fall in love with you.)"

Another well-known book of riddles is *Vidagdhamukhamanḍana*,¹⁾ "Adornment for the Mouth of the

¹⁾ Ed. in Haeberlin, pp. 269-311. See *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, Nos. 5523-31. According to IV, 68 (*Jinaḥ sarvātmanā sevyaḥ*) the author may have been a Buddhist or a Jain. Candrakīrti in his commentary on Āryadeva's *Catuhśataka* (s. above, II, 364) says that the similes and parables quoted by him, are taken from an Ācārya Dharmadāsa, and Vidhusēkhara *Bhattacharyya* (VQ, N.S., I, 1, 1935, p. 64) thinks that the latter might be identical with the author of the *Vidagdhamukhamanḍana*. I doubt, however, whether the work can be so early (6th cent. A.D.). A Jain Dharmadāsa wrote the *Uvaṣamālā* before the 9th cent. (s. above, II, 560). Probably our Dharmadāsa is not identical with either of them.

Intelligent," by *D h a r m a d ā s a*, in four sections. These are by no means popular riddles, though a few of them are in *Prākṛit*, but rather intelligence tests for Pandits who are versed in grammar and poetics. The following examples will suffice :

" Who rejoices the good people on the earth beyond all measure ? And who wakens the lotuses and dispels all darkness ?" The answer to the riddle reads: *m i t r o d a y a*, which can mean "the happiness of the friend" as well as "rising of the sun" (I, 57).

" Who is embraced by a maiden on the neck, whilst he is at her hip ? Who growls (gurgles) on and on, even in the presence of elders ?" Answer: the water-pitcher (IV, 3).¹⁾

A poet *R ā k s a ṣ a* is the author of a didactic poem, known as *K a v i r ā k ṣ a s ī y a*,²⁾ containing moral maxims in verses with double entendre (*śleṣa*). It is said to be a favourite among Pandits in the South of India.

Several poets used the allegory (*anyokti*) as a means of instruction. Thus there is an *A n y o k t i m u k t a l a t ā*, consisting of 108 ornate allegorical verses, by *Ś a m b h u*, who lived at the court of King Harṣadeva of Kashmir (1089-1101);³⁾ an *A n y o k t i ś a t a k a*⁴⁾ by the South Indian poet *B h a ṭ ṭ a V ī r e ś v a r a*; an *A n y o k t i m u k t ā v a l ī*⁵⁾ by the Jain *H a m s a v i j a y a G a ṇ i*; also a work with the title

1) This verse, as well as verses II, 31; IV, 11, 26 and 27 are quoted in the *Sārṅga-dharapaddhati* (520 f., 523 f., 556). Therefore Dharmadāsa must have written before 1363 A.D. In IV, 27 the poet Bāṇa is mentioned. See Th. *Aufrecht* in *ZDMG*, 27, p. 41.

2) Edited, with a Sanskrit commentary, by Kshitish Chandra *Chatterji*, and translated by Y. *Mahalinga Sastri*, in *COJ*, Vols. II-III, 1935-36. The first verse is quoted by Appayya *Dikṣita* (16th cent.). A poet *Rākṣasa* is quoted already by Śrīdharadāsa (1205 A.D.) in the *Saduktikarṇāmrta*, I, 90, 5.

3) Ed. in *Km.*, Part II, 61 ff. *Śambhu's* poem *Rājendrakarṇapūra* (ed. in *Km.*, Part I, 22 ff.) is a glorification of King Harṣadeva. Mañkha mentions in *Srikanṭha-carita*, 25, 97 among his contemporaries "Ananda, the son of the great poet Śambhu." See *Peterson*, *Subh.*, 128 and *De*, *Padyāvalī*, p. 233.

4) Ed. in *Km.*, Part V, 89 ff.

5) Ed. in *Km.*, 88, 1907. The work was written in 1679 A.D., s. A. *Gutrinot*, *Notes de bibliographie Jaina*, in *JA*, 1909, s. 10, t. XIV, No. 1106.

A n y ā p a d e ś a ś a t a k a,¹⁾ consisting of 101 Śārdūlavi-kṛīṭa verses of religious-moral contents, by N ī l a k a ṇ ṭ h a D ī k ṣ i t a, and another work with the same title by M a d h u s ū d a n a from Mithilā.²⁾

The S u b h ā ṣ i t a n ī v ī³⁾ by the famous South Indian Vedānta teacher (Vedāntadeśika) V e ṇ k a ṭ a n ā t h a, is an independent collection of sayings in 12 sections of 12 verses each. The L o k o k t i m u k t ā v a l ī⁴⁾ by D a k ṣ i ṇ ā - m ū r t i is a book of 94 verses on worldly wisdom.

A poet K u s u m a d e v a, otherwise unknown, is the author of the D ṛ ṣ ṭ ā n t a ś a t a k a (or D ṛ ṣ ṭ ā n t a k a l i k ā),⁵⁾ a book of a hundred sayings, in which a moral or philosophical doctrine enunciated in the first line is illustrated by an example (dṛṣṭānta) in the second line, *e.g.*, verse 10 :

“ The noble mind alone can bear the shock of suffering, not the common
mind :

The precious stone stands the rubbing of the whet-stone, but not so
common clay.”

There are numerous minor collections of sayings, which are ascribed to various celebrated poets and of which it is difficult to say whether they should be regarded as compilations or as independent poems. Frequently the same verses occur in several of these collections. No less a poet than the great B h a v a - b h ū t i, for instance, is said to be the author of a small

1) Ed. in Km., Part VI, 143 ff.

2) Ed. in Km., Part IX, 64 ff. This Madhusūdāna is the son of Padmanābha and Subhadā, but his time is unknown.

3) Ed. in Km., Part VIII, 151 ff. On the life and works of the Vedāntadeśika Veṅkaṭanātha (1268-1376?), see *Krishnamacharya*, 48 f., 123 f. and V. *Rangachari* in JBRAS, 24, 1916, p. 277 ff.

4) Ed. in Km., Part XI, 65 ff.

5) Haeblerlin, 217 ff. In Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali, 287-307, 21 verses are quoted from this book (but not in the same order in which they appear in our text). Kusumadeva must therefore be earlier than Vallabhadeva.

collection of sayings entitled *G u ṇ a r a t n a*.¹⁾ After two ornate verses, in which the God Śiva is invoked, come 11 sayings in simple language, 9 of which occur in other books of sayings too. The two following verses are to be found only here :

4. "He who has merits knows the merits of others, not he who has no merits. The strong man knows the strength of others, the weak man knows it not: The cuckoo knows the advantages of the spring, not the crow, the elephant knows the lion's strength, not the mouse."

6. "Is it to be wondered at, that faults become virtues in the mouth of the good, virtues become faults in the mouth of the wicked? For the cloud gives forth sweet water after drinking of the salty ocean, but the serpent spews poison after drinking milk."

A few quite witty verses are to be found in the *D h a r m a - v i v e k a*, which is ascribed to *H a l ā y u d h a*,²⁾ e.g. :

11. "His one wife (*Sarasvatī*) by nature talkative, and the second (*Lakṣmī*) fickle, his only son, the god of love who conquers the world, difficult to manage; *Śeṣa* (the world serpent) his bed, his resting place in the ocean, his steed the serpents' foe (*Garuḍa*); as he thought again and again of this his domestic life, the foe of *Mura* (the god *Viṣṇu*) became piece of wood (i.e., a statue)."⁴⁾

12. "In this worthless *Samsāra*, the house of one's father-in-law is nevertheless valuable: Śiva rests on the *Himālaya*, *Viṣṇu* rests in the Great Ocean."⁵⁾

1) Ed. in Haeberlin, p. 523 ff.; see *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, No. 5072. Editions with Sinhalese interpretation are mentioned by *Barnett*, Cat., 161, 881.

2) Ed. in Haeberlin, 507 ff.

3) It cannot be determined whether the poet and grammarian of the 10th cent. or the lawyer and contemporary of *Lakṣmaṇa Sena* (12th cent.) is meant. *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, No. 5173, concludes from v. 6 "that the author flourished at the court of *Lakṣmaṇa Sena* of Bengal at the end of the twelfth century when the King conferred the title of *Kavi-rāja* on *Jayadeva* and gave currency to the title." I do not think that such a conclusion can be drawn from the single word *kavibhūpatau*.

4) The same verse also in *Nītisāra*, v. 14 by *Ghaṭakarpara*.

5) *Pārvatī* is the daughter of *Himālaya*, hence the latter is the father-in-law of Śiva. *Lakṣmī* arose from out of the ocean, hence the ocean the father-in-law of *Viṣṇu*.

17. "In accordance with the notion one forms of a god, a place of pilgrimage, a Brahman, an incantation, a fortune teller, a medicine or a teacher, so will the result be."

18. "A mother does not curse her son,
The earth incurs no guilt;
The pious does no deed of violence,
A god does not destroy his own creation."

The *Nītisāra*¹⁾ which is ascribed to *Ghaṭakara-para*, the *Nītipradīpa*²⁾ which is said to be by *Vetālabhaṭṭa*, and the *Nītiratna*³⁾ ascribed to *Vararuci*, are similar books of sayings. *Vararuci* is best known as the author of a *Prākṛit* grammar, but the anthologies also contain verses by him, and *Rājaśekhara* mentions him in a list of excellent poets.⁴⁾ The following verses attributed to *Vararuci* in the *Nītiratna* are worthy of a good poet :

2. "O Brahman! As much as Thou wilt, requite
All my evil deeds,—
But do not write, O do not write,
I beseech Thee, on the brow of those
Who have no taste, the decree of destiny
That they must become poets."

3. "On the poison-tree of life
Grow two nectar-like fruits :
Enjoyment of the nectar of poetry,
Converse with good people."

8. "Even though the crow's beak were set in gold
And its feet adorned with rubies,
And though pearls hung on its wings,
It would still be a crow and
Would never become a gold-flamingo."

1) 21 verses, ed. in Haeblerlin, 504 ff.

2) 16 verses, ed. in Haeblerlin, 526 ff.

3) 15 verses, ed. in Haeblerlin, 502 f.

4) He ascribes to him a poem *Kaṇṭhābharana*, "Adornment of the Throat;" §.

Peterson in *JBRAS*, 17, 59.

The *Bhāminīvilāsa*,¹⁾ by Jagannātha (17th century) whose acquaintance we have already made as a lyric poet²⁾ and who is also celebrated for a work on poetics, is partly lyrical and partly gnomic poetry. The contents wavering between morals, erotics and renunciation of the world, and the fact that the text is uncertain and the number of verses diverges greatly in the manuscripts—these are the two things which the *Bhāminīvilāsa* has in common with Bhartṛhari's *Śatakas*. The work consists of four parts (*vilāsa*). Part I—the number of verses varies between 100 and 130—contains moral maxims, many of which are allegorical.³⁾ Part II—the manuscripts vary between 101 and 184 verses—consists of erotic verses. Part III, consisting of only 18 to 19 verses, is an elegy on the death of a beloved wife. And Part IV (31 to 46 verses) contains verses on peace of mind, renunciation of the world and the merging in the world-soul identified with Kṛṣṇa. A few specimens will give an idea of the character of Jagannātha's poem :

“ It is better to have no virtues. Fie upon being burdened with virtues. Other trees flourish splendidly, sandal-trees are hewn down on account of their fragrance.” (I, 86.)

1) The title means : “ The Sport of the fair Lady ” or “ The Sport of Bhāmini, ” if Bhāmini is taken as the proper name of a woman. The text with French translation ed. by A. Bergaigne, Paris 1872 (Bibl. des hautes études I, 9); ed. with a Sanskrit gloss by Lakshma Ramechandra Vaidya, Bombay 1887. (In the Introduction Vaidya gives a list of the works of Jagannātha.) Edited with Introd., translation and notes by Shivram Mahalev *Paranjape*, Poona 1895; with Sanskrit gloss, and English translation by B. G. Bāl, Bombay 1895; with Com., Transl., etc., by Sheshadri Iyar, Bombay 1895; Vilāsas I and IV critically edited with his own commentary called ‘ *Caṣaka* ’ in Sanskrit and Translation and Notes in English, by Har Dutt Sharma, Poona 1935. Editions with translations in vernaculars are mentioned by Barnett, Cat., 396 f. Trente stances du Bhāminī-Vilāsa accompagnées de fragments du commentaire inédit de Maṇirāma, publ. trad. par V. Henry, Paris 1885. D. Galanos has translated 98 verses of Book I into Greek in his *Ἰνδικῶν Μεταπλάσεων Πρόβλημα* (Athens 1845). P. v. Bohlen has edited Book III and translated into German in the Appendix to his Edition of the *Rtusamhāra*, Lipsiae 1840. The same book has also been translated by A. Hoefer, Ind. Gedichte, II, 141 ff

2) See above, p. 130.

3) Hence also called *anyoktivilāsa*.

“ A house in which one does not see a gazelle-eyed housewife, is but a jungle, even though it be blessed with all the gifts of fortune.” (II, 154.)

“ All things have gone the way of oblivion, even the knowledge which I acquired painfully, is lost to me; she alone, she with the eyes of a young gazelle, like a patron goddess does not depart from my heart.” (III, 3.)

“ How can you, beloved, who from fear of your foot slipping when you stepped on the stone at the wedding,¹⁾ held my hand tightly, ascend to heaven now, leaving me alone?—Thus does my breaking heart ask a hundred times.” (III, 5.)

Part IV is entirely devoted to the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu. In IV, 40 the poet assures us in a pun, and certainly not very modestly, that “ the simple-minded who take no delight in Jagannātha's Song”—J a g a n n ā t h a b h a ṇ i t i ḥ, which can also mean Bhagavadgītā—“ are already dead, even though they live.” Jagannātha is also the author of an ornate didactic poem A ś v a d h ā ṭ i k ā v y a,²⁾ which derives its title from the fact that it is written in a metre whose rhythm sounds like the hoof of a galloping horse.

Besides the gnomic poetry we have also longer and shorter didactic poems on definite subjects, either religious or secular. A famous religious didactic poem is the M o h a m u d g a r a, “ Hammer for Delusion,”³⁾ which consists of 17 or 18

1) This refers to an important ceremony in the ancient Indian marriage ritual, in which the bridegroom lets the bride tread on a stone, and utters the saying: “Tread on this stone, be thou as steadfast as stone, tread down the foes, conquer the adversaries!”

2) Ed. with a Commentary in Subhāṣitaratnākara, (4th Ed., Bombay 1918), pp. 316-39. Cf. *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, No. 5318.

3) Text in Haeberlin, 265 ff. and A. Hofer, *Sanskrit-Lesebuch*, 74 ff., and frequently printed in India, also with translations in Gujarati, Bengali (s. Barnett, Cat., 929). The text with English translation was published by W. Jones in *As. Res.*, I, 34 ff. After this translation Herder gave a free rendering of a few stanzas in the poem “Die Entzauberung. Lehre der Brahminen” (Herders Werke, herausgegeben von P. Suphan, Vol. 26, 419 f.). German translations by P. v. Bohlen, *Das alte Indien*, Königsberg 1830, p. 375 ff., by B. Hirzel (Morgenblatt 1834), A. Hofer, *Ind. Gedichte*, II, 149 ff., and H. Brockhaus (Ueber den Druck sanskritischer Werke mit lateinischen Buchstaben, Leipzig, 1841, 85 ff.). Text with French translation by F. Nève in *JA*, 1841, s. 3, t. XII, 607 ff. Carpaṭapañjarikā-stotra also appears as a title of the work (*Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, No. 5547).

rhymed verses and is attributed to Ś a ṇ k a r a. The verses deal with the vanity of existence, the blessing of peace of mind and the knowledge of God (Brahman, Viṣṇu). A few verses are here given in literal translation :

“Do not take pride in wealth, retinue and youth! In one moment Time sweeps everything away. Leave all this, which is nought but deception (*māyā*)! Hasten through knowledge to the place of Brahman!” (3)

“Now to be born, now to die, and then again to lie in the womb, thus the evil is evident in the cycle of existences (*saṃsāra*). How can you, O man, find satisfaction in it?” (6)

“To have a temple or the foot of a tree as one’s dwelling, the ground as a bed, a skin as clothing, to give up possession and all indulgence: to whom would this renunciation of the world not bring joy ? ” (10)

The Ś a t a ś l o k ī, a didactic poem in 101 Sragdharā verses in which the doctrines of the Vedānta are presented, partly in figurative language, is also attributed to Ś a ṇ k a r a.¹⁾

The C ā t a k ā ṣ ṭ a k a,²⁾ “The Eight Stanzas on the Cātaka,” author and time unknown, is a very well-known ornate poem, partly lyrical and partly didactic. According to Indian belief, the Cātaka bird has the peculiar quality that it drinks no other water than the pure moisture of the clouds, and prefers to die of thirst rather than drink the earthly water of rivers, lakes and swamps. For this reason it always flies high in the air, in order to obtain its drink from the cloud. Indian poets love to sing in lyrical verses of the Cātaka’s yearning for the cloud, whilst in didactic sayings it is the type of the noble mind, which eschews all baseness and thinks only of honour.

The V i ṣ ṇ u b h a k t i k a l p a l a t ā,³⁾ by P u r u ṣ o t t a m a, son of Viṣṇu, is a religious-philosophical poem of indefi-

1) Select Works of Śrī Saṅkaracharya, p. 85 ff.

2) There is an earlier and a later poem of this name (Pūrva- and Uttara-Cātakāṣṭaka), both in Haeblerlin, 237 ff. Ed. and translated by H. Ewald in Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, IV, Bonn 1842, p. 366 ff. German by Hofer, Ind. Gedichte, II 161 ff.; English by Cowell, in JRAS, 1891, 599 ff. Cf. also Stefan Stasiak in Rocznik Orientalistyczny, t. II, 1919-24, Lwów 1925, p. 33 ff.

3) Ed. with Comm. in Km., 31, 1892. Cf. Ind. Off. Cat., p. 1475 f.

nite date. Meditations and devotional outpourings on the names and attributes of the god Viṣṇu form the subject-matter of the poem. In the 17th century Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita wrote the Śāntivilāsa,¹⁾ a poem of 51 verses, on the "Charm of Peace of Mind" in simple, unaffected language. The same Nīlakaṇṭha is also the author of a somewhat dry didactic poem Kāliviḍambana.²⁾

As in the lyric, a combination of religion and erotics is sometimes found in the didactic poetry too. Thus for instance the Rāsikarāñjana³⁾ written in the year 1524 at Ayodhyā by Rāmācandra, son of Lakṣmanabhaṭṭa, is a poem with a double meaning, in which each verse is to be understood in an erotic as well as an ascetic sense. Another work which is partly erotic and partly theosophical, is the Śrīṅārājñānanirṇaya, "Decision between Love and Knowledge,"⁴⁾ author and time unknown, which is included in a dialogue between Śuka and Rambhā (Śukarambhāsamvāde). These are verses with the refrain: "Vain is the life of man." Rambhā always says a verse couched in the ardent language of the Indian erotics with the thought: "Vain is the life of the man who has not tasted love," whereupon Śuka replies in a verse in which it is said: "Vain is the life of the man who does not strive after the highest wisdom, who does not worship Nārāyaṇa," etc.

Erotics are the sole theme of a didactic poem by the Kashmiri poet Dāmodaragupta, who was the first minister of King Jayāpīḍa (end of the 8th century). His Kuṭṭanīmata,⁵⁾ "Teachings of a Procureess," is a didactic poem in

1) Ed. in Km., Part VI, 1890, 12 ff.

2) Ed. in Km., Part V, 1888.

3) Ed. in Km., Part IV, 80 ff., with a Commentary, without which the work would be incomprehensible. Edited and translated as a private print by R. Schmidt, Stuttgart 1896; cf. Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien, Berlin 1901, 31 ff. by the same author.

4) J. M. Grandjean, Dialogue de Śuka et de Rambhā sur l'amour et la science suprême: Text (32 verses) with French translation in AMG, t. X, 1887, 477 ff.

5) Ed. in Km., Part III, 1887, 32 ff. Translated into German by J. J. Meyer, Altindische Schelmenbücher, II, Lotos-Verlag Leipzig (1903). Cf. Dasharatha Sharma in COJ, 1,

the Kāvya style, in which a courtesan is instructed by a procuress how she is to feign true love for the rich young man and use all the arts of erotics, without letting him discover that she in reality cares only for his money. The poet is just as anxious to show his knowledge of the Alamkāraśāstra and the Sanskrit dictionary as of the Kāmasāstra. As Kalhaṇa calls him a poet (Kavi)¹ and verses from the Kuṭṭanīmata are cited in manuals of poetics, we must let the work pass as an ornate poem according to Indian ideas, though we would rather class it as pornography. In verses 778 ff. it is described how the courtesan shows her arts as an actress at a performance of the drama Ratnāvalī; here we find allusions to interesting details of the representation.

The *Samayamātrkā*² by Kṣemendra, which was completed in 1050 A. D. is a work of similar nature, perhaps an imitation of the Kuṭṭanīmata. This prolific writer, whom we have already met so often, and whom we shall meet again, tried his hand in all branches. However, even though he tried his level best as a poet, he always remained a school-master after all, and his poems are all more or less didactic in nature whether they move on the plane of religion and morality or on that of erotics. From the point of view of social history the *Samayamātrkā* is more interesting and in part wittier too, than Dāmodaragupta's work.

Thus the biography of the procuress in Chapter 2 is not without interest. As a seven-year-old girl she is already equally clever as a prostitute and a thief, then, marries various men one after another, lives as a

1934 378 ff.; *De*, *Treatment of Love in Sanskrit Literature*, p. 46; *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, No. 5086. The synonymous title *Sambhalīmata* also occurs beside *Kuṭṭanīmata*.

¹ *Rājatarāṅginī*, 4, 496. Mammata and Ruyyaka quote verses from the *Kuṭṭanīmata*. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.*, 14, 1885, 354) designates the work as "an early specimen of Indian pornography." J. J. Meyer has enormously overestimated the poet and his work.

² *Et.* in *Km.*, 10, 1898. Translated into German by J. J. Meyer, i.e., I. Meyer translates the title by "Magic Book of the Courtesans" which is scarcely justified by I. 3. But according to VIII, 127 and 129 *Samayamātrkā* simply means "the procuress," literally "little mother instructor," i.e., "who through her instructions becomes the mother (of the harlot)," not a real mother.

wealthy widow and is by turns a thief, nun, procuress, swindler, rich proprietress of a farm, vendor of cakes, beggar-woman, flower-seller, sorceress, innkeeper, Brahman saint, and finally a procuress again. By the barber, who is depicted very realistically, she is brought to the courtesan Kalāvati, in order to instruct her. She has now become old and ugly—IV, 7 :

“ Owl-faced crow-necked, cat-eyed was she,
As if created from the limbs of ever hostile beasts.”

Many a witty anecdote, though not always in good taste, is inserted into the teachings of the procuress, and finally it is related how the young son of a merchant is fleeced by the courtesan and her “ mother,” and his father, an old miser, is cheated

This work, too, is very near the border line of pornography, though no doubt the poet himself intended it as a moral text-book.¹⁾ Kṣemendra's *Kalāvīlāsa*,²⁾ a didactic poem in ten sections, on the arts and tricks of mankind, is of greater value from the point of view of literature and of social history. As in all his works, Kṣemendra is here too generally a boring and dry-as-dust pedant. Nevertheless he has great experience of life and knowledge of people, and speaks of people and things, about which other writers only seldom give any information.

The merchant Hiraṇyagupta brings his son Candragupta to the celebrated master of all rogues Mūladeva and requests him to condescend to undertake to teach his son. Mūladeva consents, receives the young man into his house and instructs him in all arts, tricks and cunning. The teachings of Mūladeva form the contents of the book. In the centre of all cunning and intrigues is hypocrisy. Religious hypocrites, especially, are described with caustic satire, obviously taken from life, and finally a myth is related (I. 65 ff.) regarding the creation of Dambha

1) *Pischel* (DLZ, 1903, p. 3062) rightly remarks that *Samayamāṭṛkā* and *Kuṭṭanīma'a* are not (“rogue-books”) *Schelmenbücher*, as *J. J. Meyer* calls them, but that in spite of their very immoral contents they nevertheless pursue a moral purpose.

2) Edited in *Km.* Part I, 34 ff. A manuscript described by *Eggeling*, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VII, p. 1491 f., has only 9 Sargas. Translated into German by *R. Schmidt* in the “*Festgabe ehemaliger Schüler zum 70. Geburtstag des Professors Ernst Mehliss in Eisleben*,” 1914 and in *WZKM*, 28, 1914, 406 ff. Cf. *J. J. Meyer*, *Altindische Schelmenbücher*, I, p. xl ff.

("spirit of hypocrisy"). This Dambha is depicted as a great ascetic (Muni) with sacred grass, book and rosary, "with a staff, the horn handle of which was just as crooked as his own heart," muttering prayers, the rosary in his hand, etc. He seems so very much like a saint that the seven Ṛṣis offer him their profoundest veneration. The Creator Brahman himself praises him for his excessive asceticism; but even in the lap of Brahman himself he entreats the god to speak softly and to cover his mouth with his hand, so that he may not be polluted by his breath. This Dambha has come to the earth and has divided himself a thousand-fold among all the beings. For ever he has set up his habitation in the mouth and on the countenance of the high officials, and has also penetrated into the hearts of the ascetics, astrologers, doctors, servants, merchants, goldsmiths, actors, soldiers, singers, reciters and magicians, nay even into birds—the herons which stand on the shore like ascetics—and the trees which, clothed in bast, look like ascetics.

In Part VII the poet directs his attacks severely against the wandering folk of singers and bards, who are described as real gypsies. They lead a roving life, dragging their pots and pans, household effects and cars along with them, with many children, their hair flying, and relieve the rich of their money, and yet they never have anything, for what they earn by singing in the morning, they already gamble away at noon. In Part VIII the poet turns his attention to the goldsmiths, who are represented as arch-thieves and swindlers. In Part IX we are shown a pattern-card of swindlers of all descriptions. There is the doctor, who has killed thousands of people with his cures, for which he uses all manner of herbs one after another in order to acquire his science, and then passes for a famous man; the astrologer who with all kinds of facial contortions pretends to meditate on the planets, and finally gives the questioner any answer he likes, who calculates the conjunctions in the heavens, and does not know that his wife is receiving lovers in his own home; the elixir artist, feeble with age, whose skull is as bald as a copper kettle, but who chatters to bald people about a hair tonic and takes their money from them.

The *Darpadalana*,¹⁾ "the Crushing of Pride," by Kṣemendra, is a didactic poem similar to the *Kalāvīlāsa*. In this work the seven kinds of pride are dealt with in seven

1) Extracts edited and translated by B. A. Hirszbant, Ueber Kṣemendras Darpadalana, St. Petersburg 1892. The complete text edited in Km., Part VI, 1890, 66 ff., and translated into German by R. Schmidt in ZDMG, 69, 1915, 1 ff.

sections. Alternately by sayings and one story for each, it is shown how senseless and useless is pride in noble birth, wealth, knowledge, beauty, heroism, generosity and asceticism. Each section begins with a series of sayings, then comes the narrative, in which one of the characters makes a long speech which is really nothing but a continuation of the series of maxims. The story in Section II is Buddhist. Buddha himself appears as "the friend of the unfortunate, the stream of pity." In Section VII, on the other hand, Śiva, "who takes away the woe of the world," appears, and explains to his consort that certain ascetics do not yet merit release, as in spite of all their asceticism they have not as yet freed themselves from passion. In this otherwise rather tedious didactic poem there are, nevertheless, traces of humour here and there, for instance, when the poet makes fun of scholars and saints who are unable to master their passions. The *Caturvargasamgraha*,¹⁾ "Compendium of the (doctrines on the) Four Aims of Life," is a kind of practical handbook of morals. It will be idle to search for original thoughts in this little book. Moreover, the verses are absolutely insipid, only in the erotic stanzas in the section on sensual pleasure (*kāma*) the metres and the style are more artistic. The *Sevyasevakopadeśa*,²⁾ "Instruction on Servants and Those to be Served," deals with masters and servants, in 61 verses. The *Cārucaryāśataka*,³⁾ "the Hundred Verses on the Beautiful Life," is a somewhat dull didactic poem in which it is set forth how the pious and good man should live, what he should do and what he should refrain from, all this being supported by examples from mythology and legend.

Kṣemendra's *Cārucaryāśataka* was used and imitated by *Dyā Dviveda* in his *Nītimāñjarī*.⁴⁾ This is a

1) Ed. in Km., Part V, 1888, 75 ff. See Lévi in JA, 1885, s. 8, t. VI, 494 f.

2) Ed. in Km., Part II, 1886, 79 ff.

3) Ed. in Km., Part II, 128 ff. See Peterson, Rep., 1882-83, p. 4 f.

4) Edited by S. J. Joshi, Benares 1933. See F. Kielhorn in Ind. Ant., 5, 1876, 116 ff.,

collection of moral maxims in Ślokas, each of which is illustrated in an accompanying prose commentary by the author himself, by some story occurring in the R̥gveda. The work consists of 200 verses, which are divided into eight chapters corresponding to the Aṣṭakas of the R̥gveda. The author has copied copiously from the R̥gveda-commentary of Sāyaṇa, and can therefore not have lived before the 15th century.¹⁾ The work is of some importance for the knowledge of the Brahmanical legend literature. The sayings themselves do not, however, contain anything of any significance.

The Kashmiri poet J a l h a ṇ a (12th century), with whom we are already acquainted, also wrote a didactic poem in 66 Śārdūlavikrīḍita verses, the M u g d h o p a d e ś a,²⁾ "Instruction of the Simple-minded." For the most part the poem contains warnings against the wiles of the courtesans. An anonymous M ū r k h a ś a t a k a,³⁾ "the Hundred of Fools," of quite unknown date, contains in 25 verses, together with an introductory verse, a list of a hundred fools. There, for instance, we read: "He who is lacking in diligence at the suitable time, who boasts in the assembly of wise men, who trusts in the word of a harlot and believes a notorious swindler" (verse 2), "he who buys immovable property which is indebted, an old man who courts a young maiden, he who interprets an obscure book and denies an obvious matter" (verse 4), "he who is a clever speaker when it is not an opportune moment for conversation, but preserves silence when it is time for conversation, who picks a quarrel at the time of love-making, and flies into a passion at the time for dining" (verse 6), "a poor man who

and NGGW, 1891, 182 ff.; A. B. Keith, JRAS, 1900, 127 ff.; E. Sieg, Die Sagenstoffe des R̥gveda, Stuttgart 1902, p. 37 ff.; A. A. Macdonell, Bṛhaddevatā Ed., HOS. Vol. 5, p. xvii f.

¹⁾ According to Nilmani Chakravarti, JASB, 1907, p. 211, the date of the work would be 1491; but see also A. B. Keith in JRAS, 1900, 796 ff.

²⁾ Ed. in Km., Part VIII, 1891, 125 ff.

³⁾ Printed in Haraprasāda, Cat., VII, No. 5500; cf. 5501.

loves company, one who forgets his meals over his work, a man without virtue who boasts of his family, one who leaves the court of justice in the middle of the proceedings " (verse 20), ".....and he, too, is certainly a fool who speaks while laughing " (verse 26).

It was not until the beginning of the 19th century that G u m ā n i P a n t (born in 1790), who wrote poetry in Sanskrit as well as in the vernacular (Kumaunī and Hindī), wrote an U p a d e ś a ś a t a k a, ¹ 100 Āryā verses, in which allusions are made to well-known myths and legends (mostly from the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Harivaṃśa and Bhāgavata-Purāṇa) so to be able to tack a more or less trivial moral doctrine on to them at the end of the verse. The G u m ā n i - N ī t i ² by the same author, a work which is very popular in the whole of Northern India, and which is composed on the same model as the Upadeśaśataka, but is a Samasyāpūraṇa poem, is better known. This work is a collection of verses, in which three lines in Sanskrit describe some situation from the legends of heroes or gods (mostly from the Mahābhārata or Rāmāyaṇa), followed in the fourth line by a suitable proverb in Kumaunī or Hindī, *e.g.*,

15. " When Aśvatthāman became the general (of the Kauravas), on the battlefield in his army he had but two warriors left, Bhoja (*i.e.*, Kṛtavarman) and the Master (*i.e.*, Kṛpa)." (Proverb:) " His Honour has but three articles of clothing: (1) his trousers, (2) the tape to tie them with, and (3) nothing else. (Utter poverty)."
29. " When once upon a time Hanumān, the son of the Wind, advised the starting on the search for Sītā, he was at once sent off to make that search himself." (Proverb:) " He who speaks of ghī, is he who is told to go and fetch it."
48. " Kṛṣṇa, invited by Yudhiṣṭhira, went to the assembly of the sacrifice. And there also slew he Śiśupāla in battle." (Proverb:) " One journey, two things done " (two birds with one stone).³

¹) Edited in Km., Part II, 1886, p. 21 f.

²) Compiled by Pandit Rewadbar *Upreti* and translated by G. A. Grierson in Ind. Ant., 38, 1909, 177 ff. See also G. A. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, Part IV, Calcutta 1916, p. 111 f.

³) Translation by G. A. Grierson.

ANTHOLOGIES.

Numerous sayings and lyrical verses are to be found in the anthologies, in which the poets of the individual verses are generally stated. Though these statements regarding the names of the authors are by no means always reliable, we do nevertheless learn from these collections the names of numerous poets who are otherwise unknown, and many a stanza of great poetical value has come down to us in this way. The number of such anthologies is extremely large, and their significance for the history of Indian literature is far from being fully exploited as yet. Only a few of the most important of these collections, some of which are available only in manuscripts, can be mentioned here.¹⁾

The *Vajjālagga*, a Prākṛit anthology, collected by the Śvetāmbara Jain *Jayavallabha*, hence also called *Jaavalaham*, is of unknown date.²⁾ The work consists of a collection of Āryā stanzas³⁾ in Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī. The verses are arranged in chapters (*vajjā*) according to subjects. Jayavallabha says expressly that it was his intention to collect the sayings of famous poets on the aims of life (*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*). Nevertheless only about one-third of the verses have reference to morals and worldly wisdom, whilst two-thirds of the verses are erotic. The verses contain nothing Jinistic.

One of the earliest Sanskrit anthologies is to be found in a manuscript from Nepal dating back to the 12th century. Neither the title nor the name of the compiler has come down to us.

1) See *Thomas*, *Kav.*, 10 ff. ; *Rāmāvatāra Śarmā* in *JBORS*, 15, 1929, 101 ff. ; *Mrs. Malati Sen* in *COJ*, 1, 57 ff. ; *De*, *Padyāvalī*, p. cvii ff. ; *Haraprasāda*, *Cat.*, VII, pp. 350-97.

2) A Sanskrit translation (*chāyā*) was made by *Ratnadeva* in the year 1336. Cf. *Bhandarkar*, *Report*, 1883-84, pp. 17, 324 ff. ; *Pischel*, *Grammatik der Prākṛit Sprachen*, §§ 12 and 14 ; *Jul. Laber*, *Ueber das Vajjālaggaṃ des Jayavallabha*, *Bonner Diss.*, Leipzig 1913 ; *H. Jacobi*, *Bhavisatta Kaha von Dhanavāla*, p. 61 f.

3) Probably there ought to be 700 stanzas as in the *Sattasaī*, but the two recensions available have only 692 and 652 stanzas respectively.

F.W. Thomas edited it with the title *Ka v ī n d r a v a c a n a s a m u c c a y a*.¹⁾ One section of the work is dedicated to the Buddha, another to Avalokiteśvara, whilst the other sections treat of the same subjects as other anthologies. None of the numerous poets whose verses are included in this collection consisting of 525 stanzas, is earlier than about 1,000 A.D.

The *S a d u k t i k a r ṇ ā m ṛ t a* or *S ū k t i k a r ṇ ā m ṛ t a*,²⁾ "Nectar of beautiful Sayings for the Ear," by Śrīdhara dāsa, son of Vaṭudāsa, compiled in the year 1205 A.D., is a very rich anthology. Father and son were highly respected officials in the service of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. The collection, which consists of 2,380 verses, is systematically divided according to subjects into 5 *Pravāhas* ("Streams") each of which in its turn contains a number of *Vicīs* ("Waves"). Among the large number of poets³⁾ whose verses are cited, we find especially frequently Bengali poets like Umāpati, Jayadeva, Dhoyīka (Dhoī) and others, but also Kashmiri poets like Bilhaṇa, Bhartṛmeṇṭha, Śilhaṇa and others, as well as the names of the famous poets Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Amaru, Pāṇini, Bāṇa, Bhartṛhari, Daṇḍin, Bhavabhūti, Mūrāri, Rājaśekhara, Harṣadeva and Śrīharṣa. The last-named, the poet of the *Naiṣadhacarita*, might quite possibly still have been a contemporary of Śrīdharadāsa. Among others we also find verses by a poet Gaṅgādhara, who is known from an inscription of the year 1137 A.D., and of 5 other poets related to him (Dāmodara,

1) *Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta 1912. Cf. *Haraprasāda*, Report, I, 20 f. The hypothetical title is taken from the introductory verse.

2) Edited by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Rāmāvatāra Sarmā with a Critical Introduction in English by Dr. Har Datt Sharma and an Introduction in Sanskrit by Pandit Padma Singh Sharma, Lahore 1933 (POS. No. 15). The edition begun in *Bibl. Ind.* in 1912 and 1922 has remained incomplete. A considerable number of individual stanzas have been given by Th. Aufrecht and translated into German in *ZDMG*, 36, 1882, pp. 361 ff., 378 ff., 509 ff. Cf. also Thomas, *Kav.*, 71 and *De*, *Padyāvalī*, p. ex f.

3) M. Chakravarti (*JASB*, 2, 1906, p. 174) says there are more than 450 poets. Har Datt Sharma in the introduction to the Edition enumerates 485 names of authors, among which it is true, the same authors some times appear under different names. In the case of many verses it is only said that they are "by some one" (*kasyacit*).

Cakrapāṇi, Daśaratha, Mahābhara and Puruṣottama), who all lived between 1050 and 1150 A.D. ¹⁾

Section I is religious in content, Section II erotic, III and IV ethical and V miscellaneous. Two verses from Section II deserve especial mention. The author of the following verse (II, 3, 2) is called Vāgvīṇa, "Lute of Speech," because in this verse speech is compared to a lute :

"Her speech is a lute without strings, her breasts pitchers without neck, her eyes the petals of a blue lotus not growing in water, her thighs plantain plants without leaves, her arms creepers without stalk, her face the moon without the stains, thus her youth brings to pass what is against the established order of the world." ²⁾

II, 47, 1, which is attributed to a poetess B h ā v a d e v ī, is a verse very significant for the orthodox notion of the position of woman :

"Why do you fall at my feet? Stop! Husbands are free and independent. If you have enjoyed yourself elsewhere for a time, what great harm have you done me thereby? Guilty am I alone, because in spite of the separation from you I am still alive. The husband alone is the life of woman. Is it not therefore I who must beg your pardon?"

In IV, 7, 2, a pretty saying is attributed to a B h ā ṣ y a - k ā r a : ³⁾

"Even if the sea by reason of its clearness allows the gems to be seen at the bottom, you must not therefore believe that it only reaches up to your knees."

In Section V (Chapters 46-50) there is an interesting group of verses depicting poverty and distress in gloomy colours, e.g., the verse of an unknown poet (V, 48, 4) :

"In the same room in the interior of the house is the kitchen, there is also the mortar and there are all the utensils, there the little children and

1) See Kielhorn in NGGW, 1893, 196 ff.; Ep. Ind., 2, 330 ff.; M. Chakravartii in JASB N.S., 2, 1906, 174 f.

2) Mrs. Malati Sen in COJ, 1 1933, p. 71.

3) The conjecture of Peterson (JRAS, 1891, p. 322) that this means Patañjali, is not unlikely, and his reference to Bhartṛhari, who says of the Mahābhāṣya that it appears unfathomable owing to its depth and shallow owing to its clearness, is very appropriate.

there too, he himself lives. The poor father of the family endures all, but what is to be said of a condition when his wife, too, who is to bring a child into the world to day or to-morrow, is seized with her travail in that same place? "1)

The *S u b h ā ṣ i t a m u k t ā v a l ī* or *S ū k t i m u k t ā v a l ī*, "The String of Pearls of Beautiful Sayings,"²⁾ by the *Ā r o h a k a B h a g a d a t t a J a l h a ṇ a*, belongs to about the same period. This Jalhana is distinct from the Kashmiri poet of the same name. Like his father Lakṣmīdeva he was commander of the elephant troops and counsellor of the South Indian King Kṛṣṇa, who ascended the throne in the year 1247 A.D.³⁾ The anthology, of which there are at least two recensions, a shorter one and a longer one,⁴⁾ is arranged systematically according to subjects. The section on poets and poetics is of great importance for the history of literature. Here we find more especially numerous verses by Rājasekhara, which occur in other anthologies also, about various poets, like Pāṇini, Vararuci, Bhāsa, Rāmila and Somila, Guṇāḍhya, Śātavāhana, Kumāradāsa, Ānandavardhana, and about the poetesses Śīlābhaṭṭārikā, who like Bāṇa wrote in the Pāñcālī style, Vikāṇanītambā, Vijayāṅkā from Kaṇṇāṭa, of whom it is said by way of eulogy that she comes immediately after Kālidāsa as a master of the Vidarbha

1) See also Mrs. Malati Sen in COJ, 1, 1933, p. 60.

2) See Bhandarkar, Report, 1887-91, pp. I-liv; Peterson in JBRAS, 17, 1887, 57 ff.; Thomas, Kav., 15.

3) See Bhandarkar, Early History of the Dekkan, 2nd Ed., Bombay 1895, 112 f.

4) A Subhāṣitamuktāvalī in 34 Muktāmaṇis (Thomas, Kav., 13 f.) and another one in 11 Śatakas (Bhandarkar, Report, 1883-84, p. 57) do not appear to be by Jalhana. According to Thomas, Kav., 15 a Sūktamuktāvalī in three paricheḍas is also "a manipulation of Jalhana's anthology." According to the Anukramāṇī (Bhandarkar, l.c., p. ix) the longer recension has 133 Paddhati. Burnell, Tanjore, p. 165, records a Sūktimuktāvalī or Sūktimālikā by the Āroḥaka Bhagadatta Jalāṇṇa. Keith, HSL, 222, n. 3, quotes Madras Catal., XX, 8114 (not accessible to me), according to which the anthology "was written for Jalha in 1257 by Vaidya Bhānu Paṇḍita." The last-named is mentioned as the author of the Praśasti in Bhandarkar, Report, 1887-91, p. vi. According to the Praśasti Jalha was a brother of Jalhana's great-grandfather.

style, and about Prabhudevī, Subhadra and Vijjakā.¹⁾ Here and in other anthologies there is also a verse by Rājaśekhara in which it is related as evidence of the power of the Goddess of Speech that King Harṣadeva also had a man of the lowest caste, the Mātāṅga (or Cāṇḍāla) *D i v ā k a r a*, as a court-poet, in addition to Bāṇa and Mayūra.²⁾ Beside Rājaśekhara, Jalhana quotes especially frequently: Amaru, Kālidāsa, Bilhana, Bhavabhūti, Bhojadeva, Murāri, Vallabhadeva, Śrīharṣa and an anthology called Sūktisahasra.

One of the best known anthologies is *Ś ā r ṅ g a d h a r a p a d d h a t i*,³⁾ “Śārṅgadharā’s Guide (to Poetry),” which is said to have been compiled in the year 1363 A.D.⁴⁾ The book is divided into 163 sections according to the themes treated, but it does not merely contain, like other anthologies, a selection of verses about poets and poetry, women and love, morals and politics; it is a kind of encyclopaedia as well. The subjects treated include poetics (Sections 41 to 71 contain examples of the use of various natural phenomena—sun, moon, etc.—and of certain animals and plants for allegories, Sections

1) She is also quoted under the names *Vijjakā*, *Vijjikā*, *Vidyā*, *Vidyakā*, *Vidyākā*, cf. Thomas, Kav., 106 ff. On *Viṣayāṅkā*, see also *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, 184 and *Aufrecht* in ZDMG, 41, 1887, p. 493.

2) See Peterson, l.c., p. 67 and G. P. Quackenbos, *The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra*, p. 9 ff.

3) Ed. by P. Peterson, BSS, No. 37, 1888. The Edition has 4689 stanzas, whereas in Verse 56 their number is stated as 6300. See *Aufrecht* in ZDMG, 25, 1871, 455 ff.; 27, 1873, 1 ff., where some verses are also translated into German; *Böhtlingk* in ZDMG, 27, 626 ff.

4) Thus according to Fitzedward Hall, *Vāsavadattā* Ed. (Bibl. Ind.), Introd., p. 48 note. Unfortunately we have no clue from where (from which MS.) F. Hall took this date. In the Edition of the *Paddhati* there is no date to be found. On the other hand, in the *Prasasti* (Verses 2-6) Śārṅgadharā is called the son of Dāmodara and the grandson of that Rāghavadeva who lived at the court of Hammīra, the Cāhuvāga (Chauhan) king of Śākambharī. If by this the Hammīra is meant who reigned from 1262 to 1301 A.D., whose fame is sung in the *Hammīrakāvya*, and who was a great patron of scholars and authors, the date 1363 is quite possible for the grandson. Cf. Sir Wolesley Haig in *Cambridge History III*, 1928, p. 516 f. According to N. J. Kirtane (*Ind. Ant.*, 8, 1879, 55 ff.), 1283-1301 A.D. would be the dates of Hammīra’s reign. *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, No. 5439 erroneously states that Śārṅgadharā was the court-poet “of Hāmīra, the Chauhan King of Sambher.....who reigned in the 12th century.”

140 to 147 examples of the various *rasas*), the art of war (80 *dhanurveda*), music (81), arbori-horticulture (82: *vrkṣāyurveda*, *upavanavinoda*),¹⁾ the knowledge of omina and portenta (83: *śakunajñāna*), veterinary science (84), also branches of medicine and erotics.²⁾ The last six sections treat of Yoga. In these erudite sections generally only "various manuals," sometimes Purāṇas, are mentioned as sources. In a few chapters it is also said that Śārṅgadhara himself is the author. At all events Śārṅgadhara was an extremely learned man.³⁾ He was no poet, for the verses as whose author he states his own name, are of no significance. Generally the poets' names are appended to the verses, but not infrequently it is said that the verse is "by some one." Among the names we also come across those of nine poetesses.⁴⁾ A verse (180) by the poetess Vijjakā is quoted, in which she says: "As he did not know me, Vijjakā, who is dark as a blue lotus-petal, Daṇḍin has wrongly described Sarasvatī as quite white." In Section VIII ("Praise of excellent Poets") the well-known verses by Rājaśekhara about

1) Cf. Girija Prasanna Majumdar, *Upavanavinoda*, A Sanskrit Treatise on Arbori-Horti-culture, Calcutta 1935.

2) Koka, Govindarājadeva and Padmaśrī are quoted here among others.

3) If the date 1363 is correct for the compilation of the Śārṅgadharapaddhati, he cannot be identical with the author of the medical work Śārṅgadharasamhitā, as this must have been written prior to 1300 A.D.

4) Nāgammā ("the Not-Inaccessible"), Phalguhastinī ("the little Elephant"), Madālasā, Morikā, Lakṣmī, Vikāṣanī, Vikāṣanī (She with the broad backside), Vijjakā, Śilābhāṭṭārikā (also abbreviated Śilā) and Sarasvatīkuṭumbadubitr ("a Daughter of the Family of the Goddess of Poetry"). The poetess Vikāṣanī is already cited in the Kavīndravacana-samuccaya, cf. Thomas, Kav., 104. According to Bhoja she was a *punarbhū* (a re-married widow), cf. Mrs. Malati Sen in COJ, 1, p. 73. The names of some of these poetesses seem to indicate that they were courtesans. Rājaśekhara (Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, GOS edition, p. 53) says that there are learned women and poetesses among the princesses, ministers' daughters, courtesans and comedians' wives. Similarly Kāmasūtra, 1, 3, 12. A few verses by poetesses are translated by De, Treatment of Love in Sanskrit Poetry, pp. 47 f., 50. On Sanskrit poetesses, especially in the South, cf. M. Krishnamachariar in A Souvenir of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Department for the Publication of Oriental MSS., Trivandrum, 1933, p. 56 ff. Southern India has produced a number of distinguished Sanskrit-poetesses as late as in the 19th and 20th centuries.

poets and poetesses are again cited. Śārṅgadhara quotes Bengali as well as Kashmiri poets, and also a large number of well-known and celebrated poets like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, etc. With Viṣṇuśarman the Pañcatantra is quoted. Among noteworthy names we mention also: Śaṅkuka, the son of Mayūra,¹⁾ the Svetāmbara Śrīcandra,²⁾ Rāghavacaitanya,³⁾ Sārvabhauma,⁴⁾ Vidyāraṇya⁵⁾ and King Hammīra. Works are also named by their titles, thus the Bhikṣāṭana, the Bālabhārata, the Mahānāṭaka (also Hanūmat) and the Vāsiṣṭharāmāyaṇa (Yogavāsiṣṭha).

There are some pretty verses which we meet only in this anthology. Thus Verse 3827 is attributed to Kālidāsa :

“ Her round breasts are like the round ball
Which, as in anger, she throws again and again ;
Hence—for fear of her black look—
The lotus has fallen from her bosom,
And, lying at her feet, begs her for mercy.”⁶⁾

Paddhati 3427 gives a pretty verse by Bilhana :

“ Yearning seeks me out, sleep stays away ;
My heart sees his virtues but not his faults ;
The night passes, not so my desire after reunion ;
My body decreases, but not true love.”

1) See Peterson, Subh., 127; G. P. Quackenbos, The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra, p. 50 ff., and above, p. 30, 88 f. n. 5.

2) See above, II, pp. 511, 512 n., 543.

3) This is the author of a Mahāgaṇapatiśtotra (edited in Km., Part I, p. 1 ff). As he is quoted with especial veneration, he seems to be a saint (adherent of Caitanya ?).

4) If, as is made probable by De, Padyāvalī, 237, this author is identical with Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, who lived in about the middle of the 15th century (De, l.c., 228 ff.), we should have to assume that the Śārṅg. in its present form also contains additions from a later time.

5) Whether he is identical with Mādhava or not, this author might have been a contemporary of Śārṅgadhara.

6) “ This is certainly how Kālidāsa writes, and none after him,” observes Aufrecht (ZDMG, 27, 17).

I give the following two verses in the translation of J. Muir.¹⁾ This beautiful saying (1421) is by an unknown poet :

“ With daily scrutinizing ken
Let every man his actions try,
Enquiring ‘ What with brutes have I
In common, what with noble men ? ’ ”

Verse 167 is attributed again to the poet Bilhana :

“ Without a bard his deeds to sing
Can any prince be known to fame ?
Of old lived many a valiant king
Of whom we know not even the name ! ”

The exceptionally rich *Subhāṣitāvalī*²⁾ by the Kashmiri *Vallabhadeva* has much in common with the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*. It is by no means certain, however, that Vallabhadeva used *Śārṅgadharā*’s anthology.³⁾ To a great extent the anthologies in general have the same material in common, and seem at least in part to have been made according to a stereotyped plan. In any case they use not only the original works of the poets, but also manuals of poetics and other anthologies.⁴⁾ In a certain sense the anthologies are supplements to

1) *Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers*, London 1879, pp. 39 and 142. Verses from the *Paddhati* are also translated, i.e. pp. 90 and 107.

2) Ed. by P. Peterson and Pandit *Durgāprasāda*, BSS, 1886. See *Bühler* in *Ind. Ant.*, 15, 1886, 240 ff. Translations of single verses by *Aufrecht* in *Ind. Stud.*, 16, 209 f. and 17, 168 ff. Contributions to textual criticism by *Barth*, *Revue crit.*, 1887, 1, p. 421 ff. and *C. Cappeller* in *Album Kern*, 239 ff.

3) This is asserted by *Aufrecht*, CC, 555. But although for instance a similar section (*anyāpadesāḥ*) in *Subh.* (545-1037) does correspond to the section on the allegories in *Śārṅg.* (40-71) they are not in any way in agreement, and comparatively only few verses are identical. The scientific sections of the *Śārṅg.* do not occur in the *Subh.* In *Śārṅg.* examples are given for 8 Rasas, in *Subh.* only for the Rasas *Vīra* and *Hāsyā*. *Śārṅg.* 98 corresponds to sections 43-59, where the separate parts of the body of a beautiful woman are described in verses, but the two passages agree only in a few verses, and the *Śārṅg.* has more details than *Subh.*

4) *Subhāṣitamuktāvalī* (s. above, p. 175) and *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (Verses 594, 3383) quote a *Sūktisahasra*.

the manuals of poetics, just as the latter are generally anthologies too. The mutual relationship of the anthologies available would, however, have to be examined more closely before the dependence of the one work on the other could be established with certainty. In the form in which the *Subhāṣitāvalī* is available, it cannot have originated earlier than the 15th century; for among the many Kashmiri poets whom it quotes (*Udbhata*, *Kaṣyaṭa*, *Kalhana*, *Kṣemendra*, etc.) there are also *Jonarāja*, who died in 1459 and wrote the continuation of the *Rājataranṅinī* down to the reign of *Sultān Zain-ul-'ābidīn*, and *Śrīvara*,¹⁾ the son or pupil of *Jonarāja*. It is possible, however, that an earlier recension of the work existed already before 1150 A.D., as a verse from the *Subhāṣitāvalī* is already quoted by *Sarvānanda* in the *Commentary on the Amarakośa* which he wrote in 1160 A.D.²⁾ *Sarvānanda* distinguishes between the commentator *Vallabhadeva* and the author of the anthology. *Vallabhadeva* is also quoted in the *Śārngadhara* *paddhati* and many verses are ascribed to a *Vallabhadeva* in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* itself. It seems that there were at least two Kashmiri authors of this name.³⁾

The anthology contains 3527 verses by more than 350 different poets. Besides Kashmiri poets, the Buddhist poets *Aśva-ghoṣa* and *Āryadeva*, the *Sāṃkhya*-Philosopher *Īśvarakṛṣṇa*, the well-known Jain author *Hemacandra*, and again the universally celebrated poets *Bhāsa*, *Kālidāsa*, etc. are also quoted. Stanzas 1119-27 contain the whole of Canto XI of *Maṅkha's*

1) *Bühler*, Report, 61 also mentions a *Subhāṣitāvalī* by this *Śrīvara*. This is due to a mistake, the MS. contains *Vallabhadeva's* work. A MS. of a *Subhāṣitāvalī* in 34 sections is available in Poona, s. *Keith*, Ind. Off. Cat., No. 7246. On a *Subhāṣitāvalī* with 221 verses, as the author of which *Sumati* is given, s. Ind. Off. Cat., p. 1533 f.

2) Cf. S. K. De, D. C. *Bhattacharyya* and A. B. *Keith* in *JRAS*, 1927, 471 ff.; 1928, 135 ff., 403 f., 900 f.; *BSOS*, V, Part I, 1928, p. 27 ff.; Part 3, 1929, p. 499 ff. and *De*, *Padyāvalī*, p. cviii f. *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII. No. 5437 describes a *Subhāṣitāvalī*, of which he says: "It seems to have been an older collection on which *Subhāṣitāvalī* as published by *Peterson* in Bombay is based."

3) Cf. *Peterson*, *Subh.*, 112 f.

Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, extracts from which also occur in Verses 1444-48 and 1659-63.

The verses are divided into 101 sections according to subjects, including sections on poets and poetry, good and bad people, morals and politics, and women and love. One of the most beautiful stanzas (1353) is ascribed to B h ā s a, of whom it is worthy :

“She who is full of grief when I grieve,
Who is glad when I am merry, who is sad
When I mourn, who, if I rave in anger
Speaks but a healing word,
Makes wise speeches, rejoices in my praise—
Wife, counsellor and friend and servant all in one,¹⁾
She is but o n e , and yet she is many.”

The poet of the following beautiful saying (225) is not named :

“The good show pity even to beings without virtue ; for the moon does not withhold its light from the house of the Caṇḍāla.”

Though in this anthology, as in most others, the erotic verses greatly predominate, there is nevertheless at the end of the Subhāṣitāvalī also a short section devoted to the worship of God, from which we quote the following verses. Verse 3486 is by an unknown poet :

“In God all blessings lie : what are alms, pilgrimages, penances, sacrifices, to him who has God in his heart?”

• Verse 3494 is ascribed to the royal poet Vikramāditya :

“In sickness the Lord is our sovereign medicine ; in darkness a light ;
and in rough places a path ; in danger a protection ; and
when trouble comes, a brother : he is the ship that bears me over
life's soundless sea.”

No. 3524 is a verse by Jagaddhara :

“I am a sinner, but do not thou, therefore forsake me. What need have the righteous, who stand in no jeopardy, of thy protection ?
Because I am vile, and of low estate, and an evil-doer, wilt thou not surely pity me more than these ?”

¹⁾ The words are reminiscent of Raghuvamśa, 8, 66, in which Kālidāsa perhaps thought of Bhāsa's verse.

The concluding verse is by Vallabhadeva himself :

“I am the most miserable, Thou the most merciful: with such a tie between me and Thee, O Lord, thou must surely save me.”¹⁾

An anthology which is distinct from other anthologies in that all the verses contained in it have only a single theme, the worship of Kṛṣṇa and the love-sports of the god (*Kṛṣṇabhakti* and *Kṛṣṇalīlā*) is the *Padyāvalī*²⁾ by Rūpa Gosvāmin, compiled in the first half of the 16th century. The value of this collection of religious-erotic lyrics consists in its having rescued from oblivion a large number of short poems by otherwise unknown poets. Moreover, Rūpa Gosvāmin does not restrict himself to verses by Vaiṣṇava poets, but also quotes earlier well-known authors like Subandhu, Bhavabhūti, Amaru, Rudraṭa, Kṣemendra and others, and has no scruples as to introducing slight alterations into verses by these poets who are not Vaiṣṇavas, in order to make them Viṣṇuite.³⁾

Quite a number of anthologies were compiled under the Moghul rulers. One of these is the *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* or *Harihārāvalī*, by Hari Kavi,⁴⁾ who calls himself a pupil of Nārāyaṇa and cites verses by him. He also quotes his own verses with the words: “By me, the poet Hari” and verses by his youngest brother Cakrapāṇi. He also frequently quotes a poet who bears the title “Akbarīya-Kālidāsa,” “the Kālidāsa of the time of the Emperor Akbar.” Earlier poets also, however,

1) The verses are translated by Peter Peterson in the Preface to the Edition, pp. vi-ix.

2) The *Padyāvalī*. An Anthology of Vaiṣṇava Verses in Sanskrit compiled by Rūpa Gosvāmin a Disciple of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya of Bengal. Critically ed. by Sushil Kumar De (Dacca University Oriental Publications Series, No. 3), 1934, with an important Introduction and an Appendix: Notes on Authors cited in the text, and Indices. Index of verses also in COJ, II, 277 ff. Cf. *Haraprasāda*, Cat., VII, p. 356 ff.

3) Cf. S. K. De, Introduction, p. cxi f.

4) Cf. Peterson, Report, II, pp. 57-64; Haradatta Sharma in IHQ, 10, 1934, 478 ff. and P. K. Gode in Ann. Bh. Inst., 16, 1935, p. 262 ff., who identifies Hari Kavi with the author of *Sambhurājacarita* and *Haihayendracarita* (above, p. 67). Nārāyaṇa was both teacher and father of Hari (l.c., p. 285). *Sambhurāja*, popularly known as *Sambhaji*, son of Shivaji the Great, is also the compiler of the anthology *Budhabhūṣaṇa* edited by H. D. Velankar, Poona 1926, containing chiefly verses on *rājanīti*.

like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Pāṇini, Ānandavardhana and others, are cited and extolled. Rājasekhara is often quoted and the section "Praise of good Poetry" (*satkāvyapraśamsā*) is borrowed from him. As Hari also quotes verses by Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, he cannot have lived before the middle of the 17th century. Perhaps he was a contemporary of this poet.

The *Hariharasubhāṣita*,¹⁾ by Harihara in 12 sections, is an entirely different work. This work treats of various subjects, such as ethics, politics, love, etc., after the manner of the anthologies. A section "Miscellanea" is followed by a further section on the highest aims (*paramārthaprakaraṇam*). Names of authors are not mentioned, and it is not out of the question that this is an original didactic poet.

Perhaps it is this Harihara²⁾ who is quoted in the *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* as well as in the *Paḍyaraśanā*³⁾ compiled by Āṅkolakara Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa. This anthology is divided into 15 sections (*vyāpāra*). It begins with a section on the 10 incarnations of Viṣṇu, including that as Buddha, and on some other gods and goddesses. Section III deals with the king and politics. The largest part of the book (Sections IV-XI) is erotic in content.⁴⁾ Section XII contains verses on the six seasons, XIII on the eight Rasas of poetics, XIV on allegories.⁵⁾ Section II and the last section are miscellaneous in content. The work must have originated after the 16th century, for the authors quoted include the "Kālidāsa of the time of Akbar" (1556-1605), and among the works quoted we find the *Bhojaprabandha* by Ballāla, a work of the 16th century. Besides

1) Edited in Km., 86, 1905.

2) This cannot be stated with certainty, because the name Harihara occurs very frequently as the name of authors, s. *Aufrecht*, CC, 762 f.

3) Edited in Km., 89, 1908. *Rāmāvatāra Śarmā* (JBORS, 15, 1929, p. 103) promises a corrected edition.

4) The subjects treated are the same as in *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* and *Subhāṣitāvalī*. Section IV, for instance, also contains a *bālāvayavavarnanam*.

5) Similarly *Śārṅg.* and *Subh.*, s. above, p. 176 ff.

Lakṣmaṇa¹⁾ himself, the following are especially frequently quoted : Bhānukara,²⁾ Rāmacandra, Gaṇapati, Bilhaṇa, Śrīharṣa. Otherwise we come across the same names as in other anthologies ; Śārṅgadharma, too, is quoted.

Down to the most recent times larger and smaller anthologies have been compiled again and again,³⁾ even in our own days. The Subhāṣita-Ratnākara⁴⁾ compiled by Krishna Shastri Bhata vadekar in the year 1872 is very rich in contents. The Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāraṃ⁵⁾ compiled by Kāshinātha Pāṇḍurang Parab in the year 1886 is still more abundant. One of the most voluminous anthologies was compiled in Europe and translated into German, by Otto Böhtlingk in his well-known work entitled " Indische Sprüche." ⁶⁾

1) After the first four verses we read : *mamaiva Lakṣmaṇasya*, otherwise only *Lakṣmaṇasya*. Whether this Lakṣmaṇa is identical with the compiler of the Sūktāvalī, an anthology of 1,000 verses (s. Peterson, 3 Reports, p. 35, Extracts, pp. 54-59) must remain an open question. An anonymous (Jain) Sūktāvalī, containing 63 stanzas, is edited by P. E. Pavolini (Collana di belle sentenze) in GSAI, 26, 1913-14, pp. 1-16. On a Jain Sūktimuktāvalī by Somaprabha, s. above, II, 573. It has also been edited in JPU, No. 57.

2) This Bhānukara was a contemporary of Nizam Shah (1516-53) and of Sher Shah (1540-45). He refers, in two of his verses, to King Virabhānu of the Vaghela dynasty (died 1540 A.D.). Cf. Haradatta Sharma in IHQ, 10, 1934, 483 and P. K. Gode in COJ, II, pp. 197ff., 254 ff. He cannot be identical with Bhānukara (or Bhānudatta) Miśra, the author of Rasamañjarī and Rasatarāṅgiṇī, as Rāmāvatāra Śarmā in JBORS, 15, 1929, 102 f., wrongly states.

3) The Padyavēṇī by Veṇīdatta, grandson of Nilakaṇṭha, and the Padyāmṛtatarāṅgiṇī by Bhāskara, son of Āpāṇibhaṭṭa, belong to the 17th century, s. Bhandarkar, Report, 1887-91, p. 1x ff. ; Aufrecht in ZDMG, 37, 1883, 544 ff. ; Thomas, Kav., 10 f. ; Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., No. 7229. Bhāskara wrote in 1673 A.D., s. P. K. Gode in COJ, III, 1935, p. 33 ff.

4) 4th Edition, Revised and Enlarged by Udhav Shastree Ainapurn, Bombay, 1918. On a MS. with the same title, s. Haraprasāda, Cat., VII, No. 5455. A Subhāṣitaratnākara by Nārāyaṇa Prasāda Miśra with Hindi translation by the compiler, Ed. by Ananta Śāstrī Ghagve, Bombay 1914, is mentioned by Barnett, Cat., 689. A Brhacchārṅgadharapaddhati, published Benares 1874, includes the whole of the Śārṅgadharapaddhati, and extracts from the Subhāṣitaratnākara, and a Saṃnyamuktāvalikā. See Aufrecht in ZDMG, 41, 1897, 491 ff.

5) Gems of Sanskrit Poetry, being a Collection of Witty, Epigrammatic, Instructive and Descriptive Verses. 5th Edition revised by Wāsudev Laxman Shāstrī Pansīkar, Bombay 1911. Cf. Hertel in WZKM, 22, 1908, 119 f. Many verses are taken from the Padyaracanā, s. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā in JBORS, 15, 1929, p. 103.

6) Sanskrit und Deutsch. 2nd Ed. St. Petersburg 1870-73, 3 vols., containing 7613 stanzas. An Index of subjects for this work has been published by August Blau, Leipzig 1893 (AKM, IX, 4).